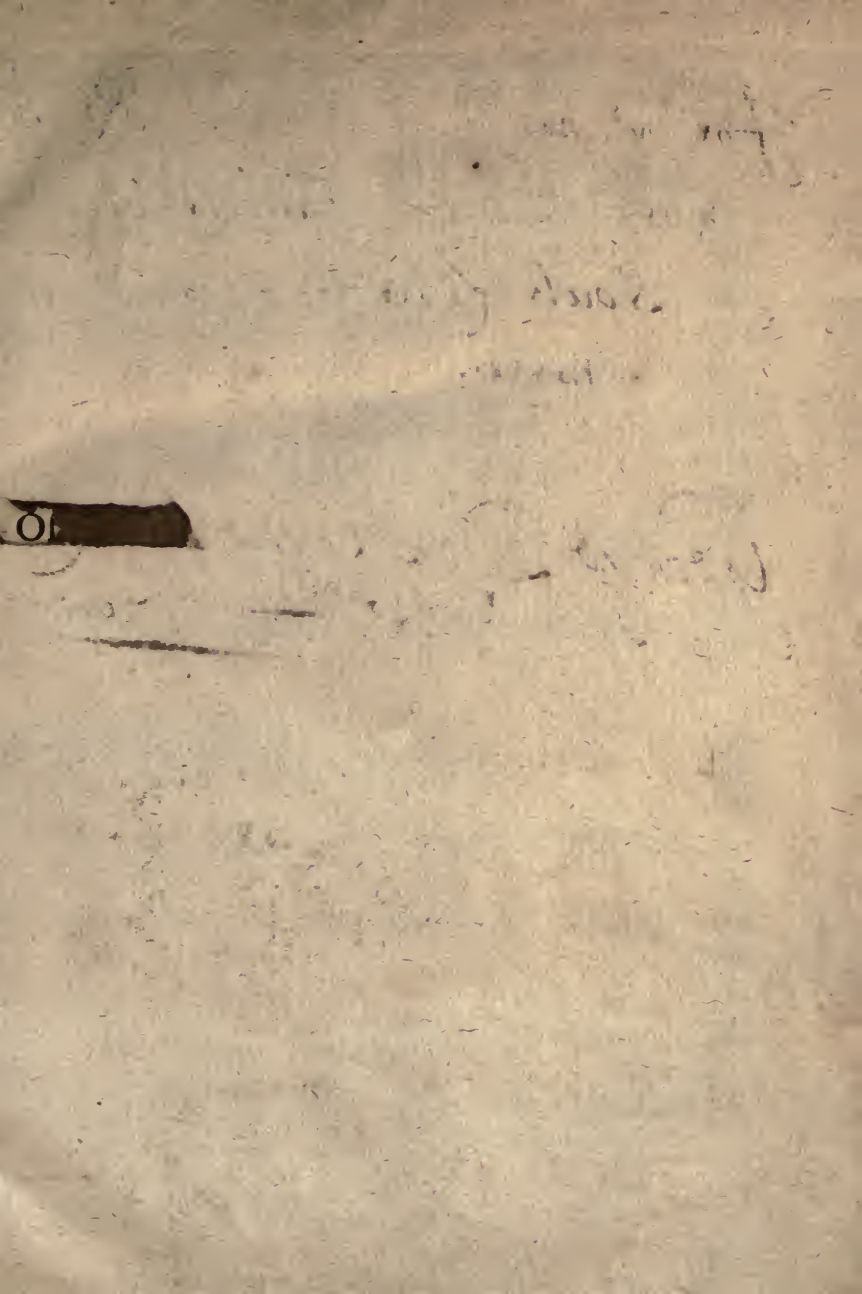
WILLIAMS, ROGER. The Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody: By Mr. *Cotton's* endeavour to wash it white in the Blood of the Lambe; Of whose precious Blood, spilt in the Blood of his Servants; and of the blood of Millions spilt in former and later Wars for Conscience sake, That Most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of Conscience, upon a second Tryal, is found now more apparently and more notoriously guilty, etc. By R. Williams of *Providence* in *New-England*. *Small 4to, calf, red edges.* *London*, 1652.



For ye hon^ble Colonell Rich a
most eminent Favourer to
South Libertie in Causes
(merely) Spiritiuall

George De Hourno [redacted]
His Booke — 1705

THE BLOODY TENENT YET More Bloody:

BY

Mr *Cottons* endevour to wash it white in the BLOOD of the *LAMBE*;

Of whose precious Blood, spilt in the Blood of his Servants; and

Of the blood of Millions spilt in former and later Wars for Conscience sake,

THAT

Most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of Conscience, upon a second Tryal, is found now more apparently and more notoriously guilty.

In this Rejoynder to Mr *Cotton*, are principally

I. *The Nature of Persecution*, } Examined;
II. *The Power of the Civill Sword in Spirituals* }

III. *The Parliaments permission of Dissenting Consciences* } Justified.

Also (as a Testimony to Mr *Clarks* Narrative) is added a Letter to Mr *Endicot* Governor of the *Massachusets* in *N. E.*

By R. WILLIAMS of *Providence* in *New-England*.

London, Printed for *Giles Calvert*, and are to be sold at the black-spread-Eagle at the West-end of *Pauls*, 1652.

have reprint

TO THE MOST HONORABLE THE PARLIAMENT OF THE Common-wealth of ENGLAND.

Most Noble Senators,

ONE of the greatest *Spirits*, and as active as later times have yeelded, *Charles* the fifth, tired out with *Affairs* of *State*, resigns up all, and sits down to end his dayes in quiet *Contemplation*. I doubt not but many of your Honorable *Heads* have felt the thorny *Crown* (of these late *years* troubles) so *sharp*, so *weighty*, that your *tired* Spirits would joyfully embrace, if not (with *Charles* the fifth) a totall *Cessation*, yet like some faithfull tired *Judge*, (after so long and troublesome a *Tearm*) at least some breathing short *Vacation*.

The Parliaments Labours and Labyrinths,

Although I dare not (as to *Englands* peace and safety) admit desires of your *Totall Cessation*, or long *vacation*: yet common *Gratitude* for such incomparable

rable labours, expences, hazards, &c. from whence the God of heaven hath vouchsafed such rare and incomparable preservations, deliverances, enjoyments, &c. I say common gratitude cannot onely wish you heartily & pray for earnestly your eternal *Rest*, and most joyfull *Harvest* in the Heavens, but also, all the possible breathing hours, and cool retired *shades* of Contemplation and self-enjoyment amidst the scorching *Travels* of so many vexing and tedious *Actions*. You cannot (ever renowned Patriots) but like some grave Commanders of *Fleets* and *Armies*, who have brought their *Ships* and *followers* through tempestuous *storms* and bloody *fights*, to joyful *Rest* and *Harbours*! You cannot but look back with Admirings, with Praisings, with Resolvings to cast you Crowns, and Heads, and Hearts, and Hands, (for the remaining *Minutes* of the short Candle of your life) at his *Feet*, in whose most High and most gracious Hands have all your *Breaths* and *wayes* been.

In the review of the multitude of your *Actings* and *Sufferings*, your *Battells* and *Victories*, *Dangers* and *Deliverances*, you cannot, (no man can) but observe and see an (naked) Arm from Heaven fighting for you, but most especially since the times and houres you gratified the most *High Eternall King of Kings* (now more then ever *Englands King*) with these two famous *Subsidies* (if I may in humble Reverence so call them.)

Two Subsidies granted by the Parliament to the King of Kings.

The first, of *Mercy* and *Moderation* to the poor

The first Subsidy.

poor oppressed Consciences of the *English Nation*, amidst the throng of which he graciously will, yea he hath acknowledged, that *some* of his own dear *Children* (the Sonnes and Daughters of the God of Heaven) have been relieved and succoured by you.

The second your high and impartiall drawing of the Sword of *Justice* upon the great and *highest* offendors: Since which two wonderfull Subsidies, the most wilfully blind must be forced to see the glorious *Goings* of the God of Heaven with your *Councels* and *Armies*, and the discharge of his holy promise in honouring you, who have so highly, (in so rare and unparalleld *Travels* and *Hazards*) honored him. *The second Subsidy.*

Concerning the first of these *Subsidies*, I was humbly bold some few yeares since, to present you with a Conference between *Peace* and *Truth*, touching a most bloudy Murtherous *Malefactor*, the bloody *Tenent* of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*: (a notorious and common Pyrate, that *takes* and *robbs*, that *fires* and *sinkes* the (Spirituall *Shipps* and *Vessels*) the *Consciences* of all men, of all sorts, of all *Religions* and *Perswasions* whatsoever. *The Bloody Tenent a common Pyrat.*

It hath pleased Master *Cotton*, (a Man incomparably too worthy for such a service) to attempt the washing of this bloody *Tenent*, (as hee speakes) in the blood of the Lamb CHRIST JESUS (though one part of the *Mr. Cottons Reply.*

Confe-

Gods wonderful goings in Holland *from* Stafore, *undone by Pride and Unthankfulness,*

of the God of Heaven between three of their most eminent Towns or Cities, First *Stafore* was the wondrous Wealthy *City*, their *golden Citie*, til a proud wealthy, *Merchants widow*, caused a whole ships loading of wheat (which her ship brought home and she despised) to be thrown over into the Harbour, which (with other Accidents of water and weather, Gods most righteous providences) so choak'd up the *Haven*, that Vessels of Burthen durst never frequent that *Citie* (by this occasion) most wondrously impoverish'd) since.

To Enchuysin, *undone by the bloody Tenent of Persecution:*

From *Stafore God* carries all the *Shipping* and *wealth* to *Enchuysin*, whole *Zealous*, over-zealous and furious *Clergie* provoke the *Civil Magistrates* to persecute *dissenting*, *non conforming consciences*: Amongst the rest 'tis rare (if ever) that the most glorious *Son* of *God* himself escapes.

From Enchuysin *to* Amsterdam, *raised to its present hight and glory, by mercy to the persecuted.*

From *Enchuysin* therefore (a Den of persecuting *Lyons*, and mountain of *Leopards*) the *persecuted* fled to *Amsterdam*, a poor fishing Town, yet harborous and favourable to the *flying*, though dissenting *consciences*: This confluence of the persecuted, by *Gods* most gracious coming with them, drew *Boats*, drew *Trade*, drew *Shipping*, and that so mightily in so short a time, that *Shipping*, *Trading*, *wealth*, *Greatnesse*, *Honour* (almost to astonishment in the Eyes of all *Europe*, and the *world*) have appeared to fall as out of Heaven in a Crown or Garland upon the head of that poor Fisher-Town.

O ye the prime of English men and English *worthies*, whose *sences* have so oft perceived the everlasting Arms of the Invincible and Eternal King, when your

your Ships *Hold* hath been full with water, yea with *Blood*, when ſtorms without, fires and mutinies within, when ſhe hath beaten upon ſome Rocky *Hearts* and *paſſages*, as if ſhe would have ſtaved and ſplit into a thouſand pieces; yet this ſo neer ſtav'd, ſo neer fired, ſo neer ſplit, foundred, ſinking Nation, hath the *God* of *Heaven* (by your moſt valiant and carefull hands) brought ſafe to *Peace* her *Harbour*! Why now ſhould any duty poſſible be impoſſible? yea, why not impoſſibilities poſſible? Why ſhould your *Engliſh* Seas contend with a neighbour *Dutchman* for the motion of a piece of *Silk*, *&c.* and not ten thouſand fold much more your *Engliſh* Spirits with theirs for the Crown of that State-piety and Wiſdome which may make your faces more to *ſhine*, not only with a common luſtre after a *Dutch* Preſiſident, but (if it be the holy will of God, and I humbly hope it may be) with a *glory* far tranſcending all your faireſt neighbours Copies.

England's ſhip got into Harbour.

Striking of Colours.

The States of *Holland* having ſmarted deeply, and paid ſo dearly for the purchaſe of their freedomes, reach to the neighbour Nations and the world, a *taſt* of ſuch their dainties. And yet (with due reverence to ſo wiſe a *State*, and with due thankfulneſſe for mercy and relief to many poor oppreſſed Conſciences) I ſay their Piety nor Policie could ever yet reach ſo far, nor could they in all their School of Warre (as their Countries have been call'd) learn that one poor *Leſſon* of ſetting abſolutely the conſciences of all men free.

The States of Holland yet to ſeek in the matters of liberty of Conſcience.

'Tis true, they vouchſafed to the Papiſts and Arminians the *liberty* (as I may ſo ſpeak) of the priſon,

true (in the matters of Religion and Consciences of men, especially:) the *violent* motion must break.

But *Light* from the *Father* of *Lights* hath shined on your eyes: Mercy from the Father of Mercies hath softned your breasts, to be tender of the tendereſt part of Man, his Conscience: for indeed there is no true Reason of *Policy or Piety* (as this Discourse discovereth) why that man that will subscribe (and give assurance for honest meaning) to that most prudent Act of Civill Engagement, (what ever his Conscience be) should be depriv'd and rob'd of the liberty of it, in *Spiritual* and *Religious* matters.

The Act for Civill Engagement of great necessity.

I have (I fear) been long in my first Petition, my second shall be brief, is this.

The second Petition

I most humbly and earnestly beseech your *Honours* in all the straits and difficulties which yet you are to passe (concerning this great point of mens *Consciences*, or other high affairs) steere carefuly off from one sunk *Rock*, on which so many gallant Vessels have miscarried. This *Rock* lies deeper then others, and seldom hath appeared but at some Deadlow water, when the most high *Judge* of the whole world reckons with Men or States, in low conditions and debasements.

I humbly beg from *God* the gracious continuance of his mighty *Angels guard* about your sitting, to preserve your Honours from the flames of *Wars* abroad, and from such flames at home: from *Risings*, from *Tumults*, from *Mutinies*, from *Pistols*, from *Stabs*, from *Powder-plots*, from *Poyson, &c.* but above all, from your own *Wisdoms* and *Policies* in straits and difficulties.

Worldly wisdome in straits a most dangerous rock.

The

The holy Hiſtory tells, that on this *Rock* (in a State ſtrait) ſtrook the great Statiſt *Jeroboam*, to the ruine of himſelf and his poſterity.

On this Rock ſplit that famous and zealous Reformer *Jehu*.

This pluckt the Crown from *Sauls* high head, when his own wiſdome in ſtraits made him preſumtuous about the worſhip of God.

This pluckt off the Crown, and pluck out the eyes of *Zedekiah*, when in a ſtrait he truſted not in God, as *Solomon* ſpeaks, but leaned to his own underſtanding for his ſafety.

The third Petition.

To which purpoſe my third Petition is, that in the midſt of ſo many great *Negotiations* of *Juſtice*, of *Mercy* to the Bodies and Eſtates, or Spirits & Conſciences of ſo many thouſands and ten thouſand, you forget not to deal *juſtly*, & to ſhew *mercy* to your ſelves: Oh how lamentable and dreadful wil it prove, if after all your high *Employments* (as the *State-Agents* & *Factors* for the *Commonweal*!) if in the midſt of all your cares and fears, and toſſings about the *Souls* and *Conſciences* and *ſalvations* of others, your own moſt dear and pretious ſelves make an *eternal ſhipwrack*?

Soul ſhipwrack.

Your *Honors* know, that although men have choſen and cull'd you out as *wiſe* and *noble*, yet *God* hath not choſen (if *Paul* ſay true) many *wiſe* and *noble* to eternall *life* and *bleſſedneſſe*.

Who can love and honor you, and not cry to the *God* of *Heaven* for you, and to your ſelves for your ſelves: Be not ſo buſie about the *Earthly* eſtate, no nor the *Heavenly* eſtate of others, as to forget to make ſure your own *vocation* and *election*, & to work out your own *ſalvation* with *fear* and *trembling*.

Oh

Oh let not this bold *cry* offend, and though offend, yet let it throughly *awake* your noble *ſpirits* to know your dangers & hindrances (more then other mens) from a world of *diſtractions* from without, from *pride* & *ſelf-confidence* from within, from the flatteries of ſuch who (hoping for rewards & morſels from you) proclaim abroad (that you may hear it) O bleſſed *Chriſtian Magiſtrates*, *Chriſtian Kings* & *Queens*, *Chriſtian States*, *Chriſtian Parliaments*, *Chriſtian Armies*, ſo lulling your pretious ſouls into an *eternall ſleep*.

Dangers of Parliament men.

I need not remember your *Honours* of that moſt wonderful *ſumma totalis* of all the caſtings up of *Solomons* choice particulars (his *wiſdom*, *works*, *riches*, *peace* and *pleaſures*,) *Vanity* and *vexation* of *ſpirit*. I need not remember you of that wonderfull *Confeſsion* of *Philip* the 2nd of *Spain* (neer his laſt) to his ſucceſſor and ſon *Philip* the 3rd, to this effect: I have had and expended (about the time of theſe 30 years) 594. millions of *Treaſure*, and yet gained nothing for my ſelf but *heart* ſorrow, and vexation of *Spirit*. Your own obſervant *eyes* and *ears* (in the late moſt wonderfull changes and toſſings of all affairs and things) cannot but read a thouſand *Lectures* to your moſt ſerious midnight and morning *Thoughts* of the moſt *certain uncertainties* of Friends, Treaſures, Revenues, Armies, Forts, Magazines, Caſtles, Ships and Navies, Crowns and Lives.

Wonderfull Confeſſions of two mighty Kings.

Why then ſhould your renowned *wiſdom* & *prudence* excel the folly of others as much as *light* excelleth *darkneſs*, in ſearching of the root and cauſes of *matters*, in fore-ſeeing Events and Conſequences, in raiſing Monies and Armies, in chooſing Agents, in framing Laws, in managing great affairs at home & abroad, in diſcovering *plots*, in preventing *dangers*, & finall

True Heavenly wiſdome.

finall overthrows by ſure retreats,&c. If yet, alas, that wiſdome make not out a ſaving diſcovery of the moſt holy and only wiſe, the *Alpha* & *Omega*, the firſt of *cauſes* and *laſt* of *Ends* (in whoſe hand is all your *breath* and *ways*:)in raiſing *ſpiritual ſupplies* againſt your ſpiritually devouring *adverſaries*, in diſcovering their *methods*, *deſignes*, *deceits*, in preventing that(that) fatall overthrow, and eternall defeat (*remedileſs*, *hopeleſs*) where the *worm* never dies, and the *fire* never goes out?

O why ſhould your renowned *valors* ſo glory in the conqueſt of *Cities*, *Caſtles*, *Ships* & *Armies*, if your ſelves are led captive in the ſpiritual chains of *lusts* & *paſsions*, a more lamentable, and more to be deplored object, then the pooreſt *ſlaves* in the *Spaniſh* aud *Turkiſh Gallies*. *The onely valour or cowardize.*

What ſhall avail your admired *diligence* and *activity* in managing & quick diſpatching ſo many and ſo high *affairs*, by day and night, catching hold of all occaſions, redeeming all oportunities, improving all advantages, if you loſe the fair *Gales*, and oreſlip and ſleep away the pretious and ineſtimable ſeaſons and calls, and knocks and offers of your own eternal *Mercies*? *True and beſt diligence.*

What boots your exemplary and impartiall *juſtice* on ſo many and ſo high *Delinquents*, if your own boſomes are found traiterous to the State of *Heaven*, rebellious to the *King*, to the *God* of *ſpirits*, and if in that moſt high Court of *Juſtice* from Gods moſt dreadful *tribunal* you hear that thunder(which oh that you may never hear) *Go ye curſed, &c.* *Tru: Juſtice and Righteouſneſs.*

'Tis true your *mercies* have been eminent to the poor, to the opreſſed, to the captive, to the maimed, to the wounded, to the fatherleſs, widows, &c. But will you now be cruel to your ſelves, incompaſſionate to your own bowels, inſenſible of your own wounds a' miſeries? O ſearch and ſee, and be perſwaded or *Hedvenly mercy.*

your

your infinite want of *Crummes* falling from your *Table* of *Mercy*! of the infinite *price* and *value* of the *wine* & *oyl* of the mercifull (though despised Samaritan) to ease and supple, to cleanse and heale your broken Hearts and wounded Spirits.

The flames of your *Zeal* for the *God* of *Israel* (as that famous *Iehu* said) have been so bright, and mounted so high against two mighty Factions of the Kings and Queens (the *Prelats* & the *Popes*) that those *flames* have not only dazled and amazed all *British* eys (the *English* & the *Scotch*) but or'e the *Seas*, and or'e the *Alps*, and or'e the *Pirenean mountains*, and *Romes* own 7 hils have flown & fild all Protestant and Popish ears, and hearts, and tongues, with either admiration & exulting, or furious rage and indignation! Yet what avails these glorious *flames*, and furious whirling of your zealous Chariots, if yet they are but *Iehu's*? If *Sathan* the *God* of this world possesse the Throne of *Pride* and *Ostentation* in your bosoms (Come see my zeal which I have for the *God* of *Israel*) yea though you should go on where *Iehu* left, and shoot home where he fell short, yet what avails it that the God of *Israel* be in *Iehu's* mouth, when *God-selfe*, *God-honour*, &c. fill his breast & heart? What gains he by the slaughter of Princes, Priests and Gods, when *Israel* it self is but an Apostate state from the true worship of the God of *Israel*, and *Iehu* himself (according to the purity of Gods *word* and *ordinances* at *Ierusalem*) reformed not so much as his *own privat heart* & *conscience*?

Late zealous Reformations.

Iehu his zeal and reward.

Alas, what solid joy (most zealous *Worthies*) shall a *Crown* of *leaves* (a temporal reward, *Iehu's* wages) bring to your Noble *Heads* & *Breests*, if you heare not at last that saving *Call* to all humble and selfe-denying *Followers* of *Iesus*, *Come ye blessed* of my *Father*, inherit the *Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*

Your

Your admired publick patience ſo wonderfully aſſaulted, ſo wonderfully loaden with ſuch mightie *Trials* from *Mans*, from *Gods* hand, with ſuch mighty *Loſſes*, mighty *Defeats*, mighty *Labours* & *Hazards*, mighty *Reproaches*, *&c.* I ſay your unwearied Patience hath ſtood (like ſome mighty *Rock*, or *Anvill*) invincible: Yet who can ſtile this *Patince*, or State-policie! if your private *Howſes* and *Breaſts* ſwell and ſwarm with rebellious Paſſions, Impatiences, Revenges! If in the furnaces of your own private afflictions, aud in the powrings out and changes of the moſt *High* upon you, your *Droſſe* and *Lees* of unmortified, unſanctified Spirits remain uncleanſed! if you moſt humbly kiſſe not the *Rods* of the moſt *High* chaſtiſing you by *ſickneſſes*, by *loſſes*, and other *trialls*, humbly thankfull, and longing to declare the the Spirits of true Children, truly deſiring more and more to partake of his Divine Nature and Holineſſe? *The Parliaments patience.*

Yea, what avails the *Crown* of your enduring Conſtancy, that have rid out ſo long a *ſtorm*, held out ſo long a *ſiege*, not fainted in ſuch tedious *Travels*, *Labours*, *Oppoſitions*, *Treacheries*, *Diſcouragements*, but glorioſuly caſt *Anchor* in the Port of *Patience*; if yet your perſonall Righteouſneſs paſſe away as the morning dew melted with the warme beams of victorious and proſperous *Succeſs*? If your own profeſſions of *Chriſt Jeſus* prove but a fading colour, and not died in the right Grain of the pretious *blood* of the *Son* of *God*? *Of the Crown of true Conſtancy.*

Your Honours well remember, that the main point of *Luthers Reformation*, (and before him of the

Husites in *Germany* and *Bohemia*, and before them of the *Wicklevists* in *England*, and before them of the *Waldenses* in *France*, consisted chiefly about Repentance and Faith in the blood of *Christ*: That the main Contentions of *Calvin*, and since him of the most Reformers, have turn'd upon the hinge of the *Form* of the *Church*, and the Administrations thereof, the lamentable though pretious *Fuell* of those fires of strife among the wisest, holiest, and learnedst of the Followers of *Christ Jesus* in these times. You know the Lord *Jesus* prophesied, That many *false Christs* should arise, and the Scriptures more then once give the *title* of *Christ* to the *Church*; whence it is evident, That every severall *Modell*, *Platform*, and *profession* of a *Church*, is the profession of a various and different *Christ*. Your Honours also know he spake most true (being *Truth* it Selfe) that said, That which is most highly *esteemed* amongst men, is abomination in the sight of *God*, *Luke 16*. Hence, such may the glorious profession of *Christs* or *Churches* be, as may ravish the eyes and hearts of men, and from which the jealous eys of the true Lord *Jesus* turn away as from the false and counterfeit with *indignation*. Beside the *Counterfeit* in holy Scripture, how famous was the *Pageant* of that counterfeit King of *England*, which so haunted with long vexations one of the wisest of *Englands* Kings (*Henry* the seventh ?) How wonderfully (even to astonishment) did the imposture of *Richard* Duke of *York* (proclaiming *Henry* an usurper and false.) I say, how wonderfully did that monstrous imposture take, that not onely

The Controversies of late years about Religion.

So many opposite Churches, so many opposite Christs to the onely true.

The Pageant of Perken Warbeck in K. H. 7. his dayes, a picture of false Christs, or Churches.

onely Foraigners where that *Counterfeit* most kept (the Arch-Duke, the King of *France*, the King of *Scots*, the King of *Romanes*, the *Irish* Nation, &c.) were deceived with that feigned King, but also so many gallant men of our own *Nation*, even to the *wisest* and *highest* (as that famous *Stanley* Lord Chamberlain, the *Preserver* and *Raiser* of King *Henry* himselfe) lamentably lost their *Heads* and *Lives* about that pretended King? Now counterfeit *Spirituall delusions* of false and counterfeit *Christs*, as they are *deeper* and *stronger*, so they find more easie *possession* of the *Ears* and *Souls* of men, so wofully prepared by naturall *self-deceivings*.

On six principall Pillars or * Foundations (saith the holy Spirit, *Heb. 6. 6.*) is built the fabrick of of true Christianity: On *Repentance*, on *Faith*, on *Baptismes*, on *laying on of Hands*, on the *Resurrection*, and the *Eternall Judgement*.

* θεμέλιον. *The six fundamentals of Christian Religion. Heb. 6.*

Concerning the two middle ones of these there are and have been mighty and lamentable differences among the Scholars of *Jesus*, who yet agree in the other foure, of *Repentance* and *Faith*, the *Resurrection* and *Eternall Judgement*.

Whatsoever your Honours apprehensions are of the foure last, I beseech you (as you love your lives to *Eternity*) make sure of the two first, and ply (with *Sails* and *Oars*) day and nights, and give not rest to your souls till you have anchored in some blessed *assurance*, that although you find not satisfaction in the many frames of *Churches* pretending; yet that you have saved (as once you know a wise and honorable personage said) the *Bird* in your *Bosome*: and

With or without the first two, salvation or no salvation.

 that

that those your very eyes which have seen so much of Christ Jesus, and so many wonderfull changes, and have been rotten awhile in their holes (in *Death*) shall joyfully possesse, and fill their holes again, and be gloriously blessed with the sight of a *Redeemer*, when these *Heavens* and this *Earth* shal passe away. For which humbly and unceſſantly prayes

Your Honours most unworthy,
yet unfainedly devoted,

Roger Williams.

Your Honours (wanting time to read much) may please to view in a few minutes the *Portraicture* and *Map* of the whole *Bloody Tenent* in the latter end of the last Chapt. Chap. 79.

To the ſeveral Reſpective General Courts, eſpecially that of the Maſſachuſets *in* N. ENGLAND.

Honored and beloved Friends and Countreymen,

Hile You ſit drie on your ſafe *American Shoars* (by *Gods* moſt gracious *Providence*) and have beheld the dolefull *toſſings* of ſo many of *Europs Nations*, yea of our deareſt *Mother*, aged *England*, in a *Sea* of *Tears* and *Bloud*, I am humbly bold to preſent your E*yes* and *Hearts* with this (not unſeaſonable) diſcourſe of *Bloud*, of the *Bloudy Tenents* of *Perſecution*, *Oppreſſion*, and *Violence*, in the Cauſe and matters of *Conſcience* and *Religion*.

N, England Priviledge.

It is a Second *Conference* of *Peace* and *Truth*, an Examination of the worthily honoured and beloved Mr. *Cottons Reply* to a former *Conference* and *Treatiſe* of this Subject. And although it concern all Nations, which have perſecuted and ſhed the *Bloud of Jeſus*, the Bloudie *Roman Empire*, with all the *Savage Lyons* thereof, *Emperours* and *Popes*, the bloudie *Monarchies* of *Spain* and *France*, and the reſt of *Europs Kingdoms* and *States* (which under their ſeveral *Vizards* and *Pretences* of Service to *God*, have in ſo many thouſands of his *Servants*, *Murthered* ſo many thouſand times over, his dear *Son*) yea although it concern that *Bloudie Turkiſh Monarchy*, and all the *Nations* of the *World* who practiſe *violence* to the *Conſcience* of any *Chriſtian*, or *Anti-chriſtians*,

Whole Nation of Lyons or Perſecutors.

The Bloudy Tenent more especially concerns N. E.

christians, Jews or *Pagans*; yet it concerns your selves (with all due respect otherwise be it spoken) in some more eminent degrees: *Partly*, as so many of yours of chief note (beside Mr. *Cotton*) are engaged in it; partly as *N. England* (in respect of *Spiritual* and *Civil State*) professeth to draw nearer to *Christ Jesus* then other *States* and *Churches*, and partly as *N. England* is believed to hold and practise such a *Bloudie Doctrine*, notwithstanding Mr. *Cottons Vails* and *Pretences* of not *persecuting men for conscience*, but punishing them only for sinning against *conscience*! and of but so and so, not *persecuting*, but *punishing Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolators*, *Seducers*, &c.

The occasion of the present controversie.

It is Mr. *Cottons* great *mistake* and *forgetfulnesse*, to charge me with a *publick examination* of his *privat Letter* to me; whereas in Truth, there never passed such *Letters* between himself and me about this Subject; as he alledgeth: But the *Prisoners Arguments* against *Persecution*, with Mr. *Cottons Answer* thereunto (which I examined) I say these were *unexpectedly*, and *solemnly* sent to me, as no *privat* thing, with earnest desire of my *consideration* or *Animadversions* on them.

These *Agitations* between Mr. *Cotton* and others, so sent unto me, as also the *Model* of *Church* and *Civil Power* by *Gods Providence* coming to hand, I say they seem'd to me to be of too too *Publick* a nature: And in which my soul not only heard the dolefull *cry* of the *souls* under the *Altar* to the *Lord* for *Vengeance*, but their earnest *sollicitations*, yea and the command of the *Lord Jesus* for *Vindication* of their *bloods* and lives spilt and destroyed, by this *Bloudie Tenent*, though under never so Fair and Glorious *Shewes* and *Colours*.

This Contestation is not with persons, but against their bloody Doctrins and Tenents.

The most *holy* and *allseeing* knowes how bitterly I resent the least *difference* with Mr. *Cotton*, yea with the least of the *followers* of *Jesus*, of what *conscience* or *worship* soever: How mournfully I remember this *stroak* (as I believe) on Mr. *Cottons* eye, and the eyes of so many of *Gods* precious *children* and *servants*, in these and other parts; that those eyes so

piercing

peircing and *heavenly* (in other holy and precious *Truths* of *God*) should yet be so over-clouded and *bloudshotten* in this: I grieve I must *contest*, and maintain this *contestation* with (in other respects) so dearly *beloved* and so *worthy Adversaries*.

And yet why mention I or respect I man that is but *Grass*, and the children of men that must *die*, whose *Brains*, *Eyes* and *Tongues* (even the *holyest* and the *highest*) must *shortly sink* and *rot* in their *skuls* and *holes*.

Without remembring therefore who my *Adversarie* is, nor all the *Wormwood* and the *Gall* so frequently in Mr. *Cottons* Reply against me; I fully and only level with an upright and *single eye* (the *Lord Jesus* graciously assisting) against that fowl and monstrous bloudie *Tenent* and *Doctrin*, which hath so slily (like the old *Serpent* the *Author* of it) crept under the shade and shelter of Mr. *Cottons* Patronage and Protection.

My end is to discover and proclaim the crying and horrible guilt of the bloudie *Doctrin*, as one of the most *Seditious*, *Destructive*, *Blasphemous*, and *Bloudiest* in any or in all the *Nations* of the *World*, notwithstanding the many fine *Vails*, *Pretences* and *Colours* of not persecuting *Christ Jesus*, but *Hereticks*, not *Gods Truth* or *Servants*, but *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*: not *Persecuting* men for their *Conscience*, but for sinning against their *Conscience*, &c. *The end of this Treatise.*

My end is to perswade *Gods Judah* (especially) to wash their hands from *Bloud*, to cleanse their hearts and wayes from such *Unchristian practices*, toward all that is *man*, capable of a *Religion* and a *Conscience*, but most of all toward *Christ Jesus*, who cries out (as he did to *Saul*) in the sufferings of the least of his *Servants*: *Old England*, *Old England*, *New England*, *New England*, *King*, *King*, *Parliaments*, *Parliaments*, *General Courts*, *General Courts*, *Presbyterians*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Independents*, &c. Why persecute you me? It is hard for you to kick against the Pricks. *The cry of the Lord Jesus.*

My end is to prepare the *Servants* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus* (what

(what *Truth* soever of his they testifie) for that *great* and *general* and most *dreadfull slaughter* of the *witnesses*, which *I* cannot but humbly *fear*, and almost *believe*, is near *approaching*, and will be *Ushered* in, *provoak'd* and *hastned* by the *proud security*, *worldly pomp*, *fleshly confidence*, and *bloudy violences* of *Gods* own children, wofully exercised each against other, and so rendred wofully *ripe* for such an *Universal* and *dreadfull Storm* and *Tempest*!

A Bar against Persecution.

My end and scope is to put a *Christian barr*, and *just* and *merciful Spoaks* in the *wheels* of such zealous reforming *Jehues*, who (under the *Vizard* and *Name* of *Baals Priests*) may possibly be induced to account it good *service* unto *God*, to kill and burn his precious *Servants*.

Or a Testimony against it, especially in the Papists.

My end is, that the greatest *Sons* of *Bloud* (the Papists) may know, when ever (as the Saints in Queen *Maries* days confessed) when ever it shall please the jealous *God* for the sins of his *Saints* to turn the *Wheels* of his most deep and holy *Providences*, and to give the *Power* to the *Paw* of the *Beast*, against his *Saints* and *Truths*, for their last dreadfnll slaughter (as *Daniel* and *John* do clearly seem to tell us) I say those *Sons* of *Bloud*, the *bloudie Papists*, may know, that their *bloudy Doctrin* of *persecution*, was disclaimed by some, whom they call *Sectaries*: That *squall* and *impartiall* favour was pleaded to the *Catholscks*, as wel as to their own or other mens *Souls* and *Consciences*: And that if that great *Whore* shall yet proceed not only to drink the wine of their carnal *Jollitie*, in the *Bowles* of the holy *Ordsnances* of *Christs Temple* and *Sanctuary*; but also to drink more drunk in the bloud of his *Saints* and *witnesses*! This *Testimony* may stand as a *Character* of *Bloud*, fixed by the hand of *Gods* eternal *Truth* and *Peace*, upon the *Gates* of their bloudie *Courts*, and upon the *forehead* of their bloudie *Judges*, who (under what pretence soever) hunt and persecute the *Souls* and *Consciences* of any Child of *God* or *Man*.

A double prison, of prejudice and Conscience.

My truly honoured and beloved Countrimen, vouchsafe me I beseech you that humane and Christian Libertie to say, that I fear your *Spirits* are lock'd up in a double prison from any serious

serious *Audience* to ought of mine presented to you. The first of *Prejudice* against *such* and *such* a *person*. The second of *Conscience*, against *such* and *such* a *matter*; and that while my *Conscience* or another mans faith, Let me be *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Seducer*, with *Christ Jesus*, with his *Apostles*, *Saints* and *Witnesses*: Let me (for his sake) bear *Frowns*, *Censures*, and *Persecutions*, from men so *dear*, so *excellent*, so *holy*! Your *Consciences* plead for equall *Libertie* of *opposing* in your way, all such erroneous or wandring *Consciences*.

For answer, It is but *Humanity*, it is but *Christianity* to exercise *meekness* and *moderation* to all men: It is humane and Christian *Wisdom* to listen to a serious *Alarm* against a *Common Enemy*: Prove the *Alarm* false, it may be but troublesome: Prove it true, it may be *Destruction* to have *despised* it.

As the *wounds* of a *Lover* are better then the *Kisses* of an *Enemy*: So saith the same *Spirit*, an open *Rebuke* is better then secret *Love*.

But yet your *Consciences* (as all mens) must be satisfied, I have therefore in all these *Agitations* humbly presented (amongst others) two *Foundamental Hints* or Considerations.

2 Foundamentall Hints against Persecution.

First that the *People* (the *Original* of all free *Power* and *Government*) are not invested with *Power* from *Christ Jesus*, to rule his *Wife* or *Church*, to keep it *pure*, to punish *Opposites* by force of *Armes*, &c.

Secondly, that the *Pattern* of the *National Church* of *Israel*, was a *None-such*, unimitable by any *Civil State*, in all or any of the *Nations* of the *World* beside: In this latter hint I insisted more largely in my former *Considerations* upon *Church* and *Civil Power* in *N. E.* unto which Mr. *Cotton* replyed not (and of any other *Replyes* of any (to whom Mr. *Cotton* refers it) do I yet not know of.)

I Add, it is a glorious *Character* of every true *Disciple* or *Scholler* of *Christ Jesus*, to be never too *old* to *learn*.

It is the *Command* of *Christ Jesus* to his *Schollars*, to try

all things: And *Libertie* of trying what a *Friend*, yea what an (esteemed) *Enemie* presents, hath ever (in point of *Christianity*) proved one especiall means of attaining to the *truth* of *Christ*.

Libertie of trying forbidden Books, &c.

For I dare confidently *appeal* to the *consciences* of *Gods* most *knowing servants*, if that *observation* be not true, to wit, that it hath been the common way of the *Father* of *Lights*, to inclose the *Light* of his holy *Truths*, in dark and obscure, yea and ordinarily in *forbidden Books*, *persons* and *Meetings*, by Sathan stiled Conventicles.

New Englands Lessons.

New English Voyages, have taught most of our *Old English spirits*, how to put due prices upon the most *common* and ordinary *undervalued mercies*; how precious with some hath been a little *Water?* how dainty with others a piece of *bread*: How welcome to some the poorest *howsing?* Yea the very *Land* and *Earth*, after long and tedious passages?

There is one *commoditie* for the sake of which most of *Gods children* in *N. England* have run their mighty *hazards*; a *commoditie* marvellously *scarce* in former times (though in some late years by *Gods* most gracious and mighty hand more *plentifull*) in our *native* Countrey: It is a *Libertie* of searching after Gods most holy *mind* and *pleasure*.

Liberty of searching out Truth, hardly got, and as hardly kept.

Jan le petit.

Out of this most precious and invaluable *Jewel*, if you suffer *Sathan* (that grand *thief* and *cheater* to bereave you, and that it shall be a *crime*, humbly and peaceably to question even *Lawes* and *Statutes*, or what ever is even publickly taught and delivered, you will most certainly find your selves after all your long *Run* (like that little *Frenchman* who kill'd the *Duke* of *Guise*, and was taken next morning neare the place from whence he had fled upon a swift horse all night) I say you will most certainly find your selves, but where you were, *enslav'd* and *captivated* in the *Chains* of those *Popish Darknesses*, [to wit, *Ignorance* is the *mother* of *Devotion*, and we must believe as the *Church* believes, &c.]

Remember therefore (O ye the *Cream* and *Flower* of *English* Plantations in *America*) what a black and direfull a *cole* it was with which it pleased the Spirit of *God* in *Habacuck*,

cuck, to brand the *Assirian* Monarchie, to wit [a *Bitter* and *hastie Nation*] but in the *spirit* of *meeknesse*, in the *meeknesse* of *wisdom*, be pleased to remember that possible it is for *Gods visible*, only people in the *world* to have very foul and bloudie hands, full of *Bloud* (*Isa.* 1.) ! To build up *Zion* and *Jerusalem* (that is, to erect the *Visible Church* and *Kingdom* of *God*) with *Bloud* (*Mic.* 3.) and with *Iniquitie* : That the *Heads* and *Judges* of *Gods People*, may judge for a *reward* (and the deceitfull heart of man graspeth at *rewards* more then of one sort) that the *Priests* and *Prophets* thereof may *teach* and *Prophesie* (and it may be frequently and excellently, but yet for) an *hire* and for *money*; And that yet their *consciences* may lean upon *Jehovah*, and they may say with *confidence*, is not the *Lord* amongst us? None evil shall come unto us; &c. O remember that your *Gifts* are rare, your Professions of *Religion* (in such way) rare, your Persecutions and hidings from the storms abroad, rare and wonderfull: So in proportion your Transgressions, estate and publick-sins cannot but be of a rare and extraordinary *Guilt* : Nor will *New England*'s sorrowes (when sins are *ripe* and *full*) be other then the *Dregs* of *Germanie*'s, of *Ireland*'s, of *England*'s, and of *Scotland*'s Tears and Calamities.

The wonderfull deceitfulnesse of the hearts of Gods only people.

Mic. 3.

N. England must be singular, as in Mercies, so in Judgments.

Amongst the crying sins of our own or other sinfull Nations: those two are ever amongst the lowdest, to wit, *Invented Devotions* to the *God* of *Heaven*. Secondly, *Violence* and *Oppression* on the Sons of men (especially (if his sons) for dissenting, and against both these, and that the *impartial* and *dreadfull hand* of the most holy and *Jealous God* (a *consuming fire*) tear and burn not up at last the Roots of these Plantations, but graciously discovering the Plants which are not his, he may graciously fructifie and cause to flourish what his *Right hand* will own: I say this is the humble and unfeigned desire and cry (at the *Throne* of *Grace*) of your so long despised Out-cast:

2 of the loudest State-crying sins.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To the Merciful and Compassinate READER.

Soul wounds, the deepest.

WHile the unmercifull *Priests* and *Levits* turn away their cruel *Eyes* and *Feet* from their poor wounded *neighbours* (the oppressed for matters of *Religion* and *Worship*) it will be no ingratefull act to present thy tender *heart* and *Ear* (*Compassionate Samaritane*) with the dolefull cry of the *Souls* under the *Altar* [How long *Lord* before thou avenge our bloud on them that dwell upon the Earth] and to pray thy mournfull view of the *Akeldemae's* and *fields* of *Blood*, where thousands and ten thousand times ten thousands of the pretious *Saints* (*Servants* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus*) lie slaughtered in their bloudie Gore, in all *Ages* and in all *Nations*, where the *Trumpet* of the *Son* of *God* hath sounded:

Here and there among these slaughtered heaps of *Saints* lie (thin and rare) the slaughtered Carkasses of some poor *Arrians* or *Papists*, or other poor *deluding* and *deluded souls*: This seeming colour of Impartiall *Justice* serves (wofully) that *murtherous enemy* of all *Mankind* for a *Stale* or *Covert* under which his *bloudie Game* goes on, of persecuting (or hunting) the harmless *Deer*, the children of the living God.

The Akeldamaes, or fields of Bloud, caused by the Bloudy Tenent of Persecuzion.

For the sake then of the dear *Saints* and *Followers* of *Jesus*, for his holy sake and *Truth*, for the holy name and *Truth* of the most holy *Father* of *Lights*, the *God* of it, thy compassionate eye is here presented with a Second *Conference* and

view

view of Mr. *Cottons Reply*, and artificial bloudie washing of the *Bloudie Tenent.*

The *Battel* about any *Truth* of *God* in *Christ*, is fought and managed by that most high and glorious *Michael* the *Arch-Angel* and *Son* of *God*, attended with all his *Holy Angels*, the *Messengers* and *Witnesses* of his Truth on the one side: On the other side by that great red *Dragon*, whose bloudie *Followers*, Devils and men of all sorts and Nations, but especially the *Roman* bloudie *Emperor*, and *Roman Popes* (with *Lyon*-like *Furie*, and *Fox*-like craft) have suck'd the *Bloud* and broke the *Bones*, and devoured the *Flesh* of so many hundred thousand, thousands of the *King* of *Kings* his spiritual *Hinds* and *Roes* in this their bloudie hunting: So that *aptly* (I had almost said *Prophetically*) wrote one of their own *Roman Poets* of the lamentable condition of the *harmlesse Deer* above other Creatures: *Dente tuetur Aper, defendunt, Cornua Taurum, Imbelles Dama quid nisi Praeda sumus?*

Michael, the son of God, and Sathan the red Dragon, the two great Generals.

'Tis a lamentable and cruel sight to see the sons of one poor man and woman, (all the Globe of the world over (like *Babels* builders) so vastly disagreeing about a *God* and his *Worship*.

'Tis lamentable to see these one *Mans* sons *Murthered* and *Massacred* (in mutual slaughters) as for other pretended *Causes*: So this especially of *Conscience* and *Religion:*

'Tis yet more *lamentable* and never enough to be lamented, that while the *Sons* of *Men* do but their *kind*! the *Sons* of *God*, the *sons* of the *God* of *Peace*, the *Lillies*, *Doves* and *Spouses* of *Jesus* should thus discord and jarr about this *Christ* their *hope*! that (like the very *Turks* and *Persians* contending about their *Mahomet* his *Successors*) the Children of *God* should tear out each others Throats about the last *Will* and *Testament* of the *Son* of God their elder brother: That *Ephraim* should be against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, and both against *Judah*; yet all sons of one, and professors of one *God* of *Israel:*

Lamentable discords about Religion, even among the servants of the true and living God.

But oh the low and shallow comprehensions of the sons of men, who as a *Rotten thing* (saith *Job*) consumeth: Oh the

The Israelites divided.

depths

depths of the *Councels* and *workings* of the most *High*, most *Holy*, and only *wise*, outshooting all the *Generations* of men, who heat and know no more then *Jonathans* Lad, Is not the Arrow beyond thee? &c.

His holy *Wisdom* hath an heavenly *Reason* (to touch a little upon this *sorrowfull string*) of that bloudie *Device* and *Sale* of innocent *Joseph* by his own *Brethren*, the sons of one *Israel* and *God*.

Joseph sold by his brethren.

He knowes why so holy a *Leader* of such a *miraculous People* (as I may truly call them) why *Aaron* (I say) was so left to the horrible, ungratefull, and outragious importunities of this (then the only) People of *God*, as to frame a *Beastly worship*, and to turn the most glorious and dreadfull *Godhead* into the similitude of a *Beast* that eateth grasse.

Israel force Aaron to make them Gods.

He knowes why the *Israel* of *God*)*Rebels*, as *Moses* passionately called them) should so often grieve the holy *Spirit* of *God* with their *murmurings*, and be so near to dash out the brains of their most faithfull *Leaders*.

Israels murmurings.

He knowes why two Parts or *Angles* of that Heavenly *Triangle* (*Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Miriam* so neer in *Earthly* and *Heavenly Relations*) I say why that rare Pair, *Aaron* and *Miriam* should yet envie and mutiny against their so dear a *Brother*, and so meek and heavenly a *Ruler*, *Moses*.

Aaron and Miriam against Moses.

His heavenly wisdom hath a reason of that wonderfull Shrinking of an *Army* of 32 thousand *Israelits*, into one poor 300 left behind, and found only fit for *Gods battels* against the *Midianits*.

An Armie of 32000 Israelites shrunk into 300.

A reason why those two famous *Champions*, *Samson* and *David* should find so great discouragement to their fighting of *Gods Battels*, the men of *Judah* basely binding *Samson*, and the chief of *Davids* own *Brethren* flying in his face with open Railings.

Samson and David discouraged by their own brethren.

A reason of that all most utter consumption of one whole *Tribe* of *Israels* 12. by the furious flames of the *Zeal* and *Indignation* of the eleven.

Benjamin almost destroyed by the 11 Tribes.

These things happened not by *chance*, but as the *Apostle* speaks in *Types* (in curious and wonderfull *figures*) so that his

Israels rejecting of Samuel & the Lord himself.

his holy wisdom knowes: why *Israel* must be so weary of *Samuel* and himself, and (like the *Nations* of the *World*) must have a *King* to be their *Champion* and fight their *Battels*:

Why *Saul* this desired *King*, the *King* of *Gods* own *choice* and *Israels*, why yet he must hunt an innocent *David*, as a *Flea* in the bosom, or a *Partridg* on the mountains, until he hath slain himself to set the *Crown* on *Davids* head.

Saul persecuting David.

A reason of that long continued *Faction* of so many *Tribes* against this *Davids* Crown, and that *Israel* (so importunate, so impatient for a *King*) should now powre out each others blood about a *Successor*, whether a *David*, or (the son of *Persecution*, *Saul*) *Ishbosheth*.

Ishbosheth and Israel against David and Judah.

A reason (when *David* wears both Crowns in one, and hath all that a most *gracious God* could espie out fit for *David* to receive, that yet he wants a wife that had so many, and rather then a *Davids* sinfull Desires and Whordomes shall want a *Covering*, the blood of *Uriah* (that is *fire* or *zeal* of *God*) shall die and make up one to cover them.

David stabbing Uriah with his Pen.

O the *Depths* of the *Councels* of the holy one of *Israel* why (there being but 12 *Tribes* in all) 10 *Tribes* of his own people should tear away from 2, and after many *Captivities* of the one and the other, both the one and the other now are scattered from each other upon the face of the Earth, and as yet no certain *Tidings* what's befaln to the 10 Tribes of the *Israel* of *God*.

The divisions & dispersions of the Tribes.

He knowes why to leave an upright perfect *Asa's heart* to such *folly* and *wrath*, as to lay a Faithfull *Prophet* (admonishing him from God) by the heels.

Asa imprisoning the Prophet.

Yea, why the *Followers* of the meek *Lamb* of *God*, should burn in such *Unchristian Flames*, as to call for fire from *Heaven* to consume the *contemners* and *despisers* of their *Lord* and *Master*, who quencheth the fire of their rash *zeal* with this mild *Check*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of:

Christs Disciples desirous of fire from heaven, &c

Why such πικρία (*Bitternesse* as the Word is) should rise between two *Turtle Doves*, *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and that about their most laborious and most dangerous *Ministeries*:

Bitterness between Saul and Barnabas.

Why one cries *Paul*, another *Apollo*, another *Cephas*, another

ther *Christ*, even in the first established *Churches*.

This holy *Plot*, this heavenly *designe* of the most holy and only wise *God*, thus to permit the *contentions* and *divisions* of his own *Servants*, as it displaies *Himself only Perfect* and *Excellent*, and all (the best of) men in all *Ages*, but *farthing-candles*, yea *smoaking Firebrands*: As it brightly proves the admirable consent and *Angelical Harmony* of the holy *Scripture*, relating *Histories*, and in those *Histories* infolding *Prophesies*, fulfill'd before mens daily view thousands of years after: As it makes us see our spiritual *Povertie* and *Beggary*, and infinit need of *Mercy* and *Grace*, and *Peace* from *Heaven*, and drives us to continual *Prayers* and *cries*, for mercifull supplies from thence! As it disrelisheth this present sweetest life, yea the very life of *Spiritual Love*, in the Communion of the Saints of *God* themselves, if compared with the most pure and spiritual and absolute *Joyes* and *Life* approaching.

Gods mercy drawes out many sweet fruits from the bitter contentions of his servants.

So doth this heavenly *Councel* of the most *High*, abundantly stop the mouths of all *malicious*, who (although they delight to scratch their *Athenian Itch* of hearing *Novelties*, *new things*, *Newes*, yet) stumble they at this stumbling-block of *Novelties*, *new Churches*, *new Ministers*, *new Discipline*, *new Baptism*, *new Light*: The ancient of days (say they) the *God* of *Peace* and *Love* cannot be in such *Divisions*: The old Bishops were better, the old Popes themselves more tollerable:

But this is but the barking of *malice* against *Gods* holyness which his true servants desire to partake of! Against *Gods Truth*, which his servants must contend for, (yea though it be one against another) against *Gods Councels* who hath so laid his holy *project*, that what he now sets out in a clear *Light* and fairer *Print*, is the very same (had we inlightned eyes to see it (with the old *edition* of former times, more dark and rude in *Ceremonies*, *Types*, and figures.

Various affections of Readers expected.

I cannot but foresee *variety* of divers *Passions* and *Affections*, in a *Variety* of *Beholders* of this present *Controversie*: Some will please themselves and their *curiosities* in the *Noveltie*

veltie of such discourses: some will rejoice to see the light appear, and yet mourn in the lamentable differences of such who profess the same *God* and *Christ* about it: Some will be angry and cry out of *Blasphemy* against their *Gods*, their *Bellies*, and their *Titles*, &c. Some will fear disturbances of the *Civil*, and some of the *Spiritual peace* and *Christianity*: Yet some will truely desire to search and know the will of *God*, humbly desirous to do it on earth, as the Angels doe it in heaven.

The *Courteous Reader* may please to see, that in the first Conference of Peace and Truth, there was Discust, a Modell of *New English* Church and Civill Power, which Mr. *Cotton* in his Reply waved and referred to others of the *New English* Elders to Reply unto, which whether they have so done as yet I have not heard:

The Model of N. English Church and Civil Power.

Together with Mr. *Cottons* Reply to the *Bloudy Tenent*, there was also added a Reply of Mr. *Cotton* to an Answer of his Letter: The Examination of this Reply I desired; and intended should have been here presented; But the streights of time (being constantly drunk up by necessary Labours for bread for many depending on me, the discharge of Engagements, and wanting helps of transcribing) I say the streights of time were such, that the Examination of that Reply could not together with this, be fitted for Publick view, though with the Lords assistance will not delay to follow.

Of Mr. Cottons Reply to the Answer to his Letter.

Touching Mr. *Cotton* I present two words: First for his Person, Secondly for his Work.

For his Person, although I rejoyce that since it pleased *God* to lay a *Command* on my *Conscience* to come in as his poor Witnesse in this great Cause: I say I rejoice it hath pleased him to appoint so able, and excellent, and Conscionable an Instrument to bolt out the Truth to the bran: So I can humbly say it in his holy presence, it is my constant heavinesse and souls grief as to differ from any fearing *God*; so much more ten thousand times from Mr. *Cotton*, whom I have ever desired and still desire highly to esteem,

Gods wisdom adored in the Discussing of the Bloudie Tenent.

esteem, and dearly to respect, for so great a portion of mercy and grace vouchsafed unto him, and so many Truths of *Christ Iesus* maintained by him. And therefore (notwithstanding that some (of no common Judgement and respect to him, have said, that he wrote his washing of the *Bloudie Tenent* in *Bloud* against *Christ Iesus*, and Gall against me, yet) if upon so slippery and narrow a passage I have spit (notwithstanding my constant resolution to the contrary) into any *Tearm* or *Expression* unbeseeming his Person, or the Matter (the cause of the most high in hand considered) I humbly crave pardon of *God*, and Mr. *Cotton* also.

A memorable Speech touching Mr. Cotton.

Secondly concerning his Work, I call to mind a speech of one of eminent Note in *N. England* (observing a disposition in men for one man to deifie another, and that some of no small note had said they could hardly believe that *God* would suffer Mr *Cotton* to err) the Speech was this [I fear that *God* may leave Mr. *Cotton* to some great error, that men may see he is a man] &c.

But concerning his Work, the observant Reader will soon discover, that whatever Mr. *Cottons* Stand is, yet he most weakly provides himself of very strange Reserves, and Retreats: to point with the finger at 2 or 3 most frequent and remarkable.

The strange retreats Mr. Cotton makes in this controversie.

First when he seems to be overwhelmed with the lamentable and doleful cries of the Souls under the *Altar*, crying out for *Vengeance* on their *Persecutors* that dwell upon the Earth! He often retreats, and professeth to hold no such Doctrin of persecuting the *Saints*, no nor of any for cause of Conscience, nor that the Magistrate should draw forth his Sword in matters of *Religion*.

The rearing of Lyon-like persecution, pag.

When it is urged that through this whole Book he Persecutes or Hunts (by name) the *Idolater*, the *Blasphemer*, the *Heretick*, the *Seducer*, and that to Death or Banishment: and amongst other Expressions useth this for one [If there be stones in the streets, the Magistrate need not run for a Sword to the Smiths shop, nor to the Ropier for an Halter to punish *Hereticks*, &c.] Mr. *Cotton* retreats into

Land

the Land of *Israel*, and calls up *Moses* and his Laws against *Idolaters*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c:

When he is Challenged (and that by his own frequent confession in his Book) for producing the Pattern of a *National Church* when he stands only for a Congregationall! for producing that national church of *Israel*, so miraculous, so typical, as a Copie or Samplar for the Nations and Peoples of the World (who have no such miraculous and Typicall respect upon them) Mr. *Cotton* retreats to *Moral Equity*, that the *Seducer* and he that kills a Soul should die.

When it is urged that *Christ Iesus* at his so long typed out coming, abolished those *National shadowes*, and erected his *Spiritual Kingdom* of *Israel*, appinted Spiritual Officers, Punishments, &c. and that those Scriptures, *Tit.* 3. against the *Hereticks*; and *Rev.* 2. against *Baalam* and *Iezabel* prove only a spiritual death and cutting off from Christ Jesus his holy land of life and peace, his church & kingdom.

The strange reluctancies of the Lamb like spirit of Mr. Cotton forced to against the Persecuting Lyon.

Mr. *Cotton* retreats and confesseth Christs Kingdon is spiritual, not national, but congregational, and that those Scriptures hold forth a Spiritual cutting off, and he so produceth them to prove the *heretick* so to be cut off, alledging that the question was put in general tearms, that he knew not what Persecution should be intended, and that an unjust excommunication is as sore a persecution as an unjust banishment: When he is urged with the nature of the consciences (even of all men to God or Gods in their worships, he professeth that he is wronged, & that he doth not hold that any man should be persecuted for his conscience, but for sinning against his conscience. When al the consciences in the world cry out against him for setting up the *civil power* & *officers*, and *Courts* of *civil Iustice*, to judg of the *conviction* of mens *souls* and *consciences*! Mr. *Cotton* retreats to his last refuge, and saith that although this be the duty of all the Magistrates in the *World*, yet not any of them must meddle to punish in *Religion*, untill they be informed which is (upon the point) untill he is sure they will draw their swords for his Conscience, Church, &c. against all other as heretical, blasphemous.

Monstrous partiality, as touching the Magistracy.

The monstrous *Partiality* of such *suspending*, &c. of *hanging* up all the Magistrates in the world, (except a few of his own *perswasion*) and that from so *principall* and *main* a part of their *Office*, and that so many *thousands* in the *Nations* of the *world* all the *world* over, and that *constantly* and *perpetually* all their dayes. If it please the most *jealous* and righteous God to hide it (I say the *monstrousnesse* of such a *Suspension*) from Mr. *Cottons* eyes, yet *thousand* and *ten thousands* will behold and wonder at it.

But (fearing to exceed in discourse at *dore*) let every merciful and compassionate *Reader* freely enter in, and search the inmost *Rooms* and *Closets*:

The slaughter of the Witnesses, Revel. 2.10.

If thou truly love the *Truth* and *Peace*, thou art too ner of kin to the *Prince* of *Peace* and *Truth* it self, long to escape the *Hunters*. If the *fourty two moneths* of the *Beasts reign*, and the *two hundred and threescore dayes* of the *prophesie* of the *Witnesses* of *Jesus* in *Sackcloth* be expired: yet I fear the three dayes and a halfe of the greatest *slaughter* of the *Witnesses* is not over: Yet fear not what must be suffered, although the Devill cast (not onely some, but) all *Christs Witnesses* into *Prison*: yea, although he murther and fling out the *Karkasses* of the Saints to *shame* and *injury*, yet the mighty *Spirit* of *God* will raise them on their feet again, and into heavenly *glory*, out of this shame shall they ascend in the sight of their bloody enemies.

How many and how various are the *Disputings*, *&c.* about what should be this *three dayes* and a *halfes calamity*? How many hope this storm is over? how many fear it is now a breeding? Yet why should we fear so short a draught (though) of a bitter *Cup*, when tempered by the gracious hand of an Heavenly Father, begun by so dear an *Elder Brother*, so sweet a *Saviour*? The *Revelations* of *John*, and the *Revelations* of *Gods* wonderfull *Providences*, seem to proclaim wonderfull and dreadfull *Discoveries* of the Son of God approaching. And it is as sure

as

as that there is a Lord *Jesus Christ*, that God will subdue all his enemies, that he will shortly break (and make all his *followers* tread on) the proudest *Necks* born up this day in the world, even the grandest *Seigniories* of the *Turkish* and *Popish* Empires, the two so mighty opposers of the Son of *God*. And it is not improbable, both their *ruines* and *downfall* must be from some *top* and *pinacle* of glorious *prosperity* and furious outrage against their (Antichristian and Christian) enemies.

Christ Jesus shortly ruining the two dreadfull Empires of the bloody Turk and Pope.

The chiefest *European enemies* of the All devouring *Turk* (though all that bear the name of *Christ* are his enemies) are more especially the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, the King of *Spain* and the *Venetians*, by whom *Christ Jesus* (probably) will dash that mighty *Empire* into pieces, as he seems to have prophesied of old by his servant *Daniel*: yet probably, as I said before, this *downfall* must be from some more eminent height of *Turkish* bloody *pride* and *glory*, which that blasphemous and bloody Monarchy shall immediatly before attain unto.

The Turks *forest enemies in Europe.*

The forest enemies of the *Roman Popes*, are the *witnesses* of the *Truths* of *Jesus*, whom he hath not left himself without, during the 42 *moneths* of the *reign* of this mighty and dreadfull *Beast*. Against these blessed *followers* of the *Lamb* must (probably) the rage of this bloody *Beast* rise high in that his great *slaughter* of them and *triumph* three days and an half over them, (*Rev.* 11.) and this not long before his own *eternall downfall*.

The Popes forest enemies.

Many have been the *Interpretations* of that prophesie, and some late *Applications* of the *witnesses* and Time to particular *persons* and *Times* of late.

But

But (with all due respect to the *Apprehensions* of any studious of the truth of *Jesus*) I conceive the matter is of a more *generall consideration.*

For in all that *world* over that wondred after the *Beast*, hath *Christ Jesus* raised up a *Generation* or kind of *Witnesses* bearing *testimony* against him. This *witnesse* (more or lesse) to the severall *Truths* of *Jesus*, he hath been pleased to maintain, before and since *Luthers* time, especially: The *finishing* of the *Testimony* must (probably) be *generall*, not only in *England*, but in the rest of the *Protestant Nations*; which *finishing* of the *witnesse* (probably) wil consist in the matters of the *purity* of his *worship*, and the *Government* of the *Lord Jesus* in his own holy Appointments and Institutions. The *slaughter* of these *witnesses* must also (probably) be *generall*, and in the three dayes and half *triumph* over them *generall*: upon which follows that most glorious and *generall* rising of the *witnesses* unto their *glory* promised, *Rev.* 11.

Freedome of Conscience in worship due even to the Papists themselvs. See Chap.

I contess in this plea for *freedom* to all *Consciences* in *matters* (meerly) of *worship*, I have impartially pleaded for the *freedom* of the *consciences* of the *Papists* themselves, the greatest *enemies* and *persecutors* (in *Europe*) of the *Saints* and *Truths* of *Jesus*: Yet I have pleaded for no more then is their *due* and *right*, and (what ever else shall be the *Consequent*) it shall stand for a *monument* and *testimony* against them, and be an *aggravation* of their former, present, or future *cruelties* against *Christ Jesus* the *Head*, and all that uprightly love him, his true *Disciples* and *Followers.*

It is true, I have not *satisfaction* in the clear discovery

covery of those holy *Prophesies* & *Periods* set down and prefixed by the holy *Spirit* in *Daniel*, *John*, *&c.* concerning the *Kingdom* of *Christ Jesus*: Yet two things I professe in the holy presence of *God*, *Angels* and *Men*.

First, my humble *Desires* and *Resolution* (the Lord assisting) to *contend* for the true and *visible worship* of the true and living *God*, according to the *Institution* and *Appointment* of the last will and *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*.

2. I beleeve and profess, that such *persons*, such *Churches* are got neerest to *Christ Jesus*, on whose *forehead* are written these blessed characters of the true *Lord Jesus Christ*; First, *content* with a poor and low condition in worldly things. 2. An holy *cleansing* from the *filthines* of *false worships* and *worldly conversations*. 3. An humble and constant *endeavour* to attain (in their *simplicity* & *purity*) to the *Ordinances* and *appointments* of *Christ Iesus*. 4. Are so far from smiting, killing, and wounding the *Opposites* of their *profession* and *worship*, that they resolve themselves patiently to bear and carry the *Cross* and *Gallows* of their *Lord* and *Master*, and patiently to suffer with him. In the number of such his poor servants who as unfeignedly desire (notwithstanding my plea against *Persecutors* and *Persecution*) I say as unfeignedly desire to suffer as *cheerfully* with *Christ Iesus*, as *gloriously* to *reign* with him, desires to be,

Thine unfeigned, though unworthiest
of all the Followers *of* JESUS.

Roger Williams.

The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, By Master *Cottons* attempting to wash it with the Blood of the Lambe.

Examination of CHAP. I.

Truth.

Left be the *God* of *truth* and *peace* (*sweet peace*) that once againe, we finde a *corner* and a few *hours* to entertaine our sweet *embraces* and *discourses* about that *Bloody Tenent of Persecution* for *cause* of *conscience.*

Peace.

It is indeed *Jehovah's* work, and it is marvellous in our eyes, that 'midst this worlds *combustions*, such a *corner* and such *hours* are found.

Truth. Dear *friends*, the longer absent, meet the *sweeter*; and have cause to spend each minute to his praise, who wonders works, and this not the least, that we *two* see each others face at all in these tempestuous dayes and *vale* of *tears.*

Truth & peace rarely meet in this vale of tears.

How harshly were our last *conferrings* entertained by some? How were our selves suspected, and traduced for *counterfeits*; and our pious and peaceable *Meditations*, cruelly condemned to the devouring *flames*?

Truth. That ever was our *portion*, ever since the *earthen pots* arose against their glorious *Potter*; and no better *lot* we must expect, while the *time* doth last that is determined.

Many dear Saints of God plead for persecution: Oh how righteous is it with God to send them persecution!

Peace. Mean while tis yet our *lamentation*, that so many of our *darlings*, whom we have tendred as our *eyes*, have both in *Print* and *Pulpit*, cried out against us; and amongst the rest, one of thy dearest eldest *children*, (too too worthy to be) the *defender* of the *Bloody Tenent* of Persecution.

Truth. Our *love* shall cover his shame and *nakedness*; and our *wisdoms* pity his heavy labour, Blackamore-washings, and so great expence of precious *time* and *spirit*, in labouring to wash this so deeply bloody, and Blackamore-*Tenent*, in the blood of the *Lamb* of *God*.

Peace. So *parents* and true friends love and pity theirs, though sick, though froward and distracted; and let our *Bowels* yearne over him, who teares out *ours*: who knows but once before he sleep his last, in the pit of rottennesse, he may awake and give *glory* to the *God* of *peace* and *truth*, of *patience* and *long suffering*; whose *thoughts*, whose *wayes*, whose *love*, whose *pity* hath no *bounds*, nor *limits*, toward them whom he hath loved before the *worlds foundation*.

O let these blessed *buds*, of *hope* and sweet *desires* (dear Truth) put forth in pious fruits of renewed endeavors, and let me once againe prefer my suit for your impartial weighing of what *replies*, *objections*, *pleadings*, he hath brought against us.

Truth. For the *God* of *Peace*; for the *Prince* of *Peace* his sake, yea for his *servants* sake, for *Zions* sake, I will not be silent, and know (at last) I shall prevaile to scatter and dispell the *mists* and *fogs*; that for a while arise to cloud and choak us.

Quere why Master Cotton leaps over the Epistles to the Parliament and Reader.

Peace. First, then, what cause should move this so able a *defendant* to leap over all our first *addresses* both to the high Court of *Parliament*, and to every *Reader*? and what may be conjectured, why himself directs a word to neither in this *controversie*?

Truth. I desire my *Rejoynder* may be as full of *love* as *truth*; yet

yet ſome ſay Maſter *Cotton* is wiſe and knows in what *door* the wind blows of late; he is not ignorant what ſad *complaints* in *letters, printings conferences*, ſo many of Gods *people* (and of his own *conſcience* and *judgement* of Independency) have poured forth againſt *New Englands* perſecuting *&c.* He knows what *Bars New Englands* bloody *Tenent* and *practice* may put to his *brethrens* juſt *deſires* and *ſuits* for *moderation* and *toleration*, to *non-conforming conſciences.*

N. E. *Perſecution guilty of the perſecution in old, eſpecially (ſince this Rejoynder) by their Law for Baniſhing ſuch as hold not childrens Baptiſme, and their late fourſcore and ten bloody laſhes to the body of the Lord Jeſus in the ſufferings of his faithful witneſs,* Obadiah Holmes *at* Boſton, *meerly about that point of Baptiſme.*

Tis true, his *conſcience*, and the *credit* of his *way*, compels his *reply*, but the *times* adviſe him, with as little noiſe as may be, and it ſeems with no great willingneſs, that that high and *ſearching houſe* of *Englands Parliament* ſhould ſearch and ſcan his *Meditations.*

Peace. Well, if the name of *God* were truely called upon them and (as his *title* intimateth) the great *controverſies* of theſe preſent *times* are herein handled; If all that is here preſented be truly *practiſed*; and he deſire to buy and ſell by one *meaſure* and to be no otherwaies *meaſured* unto, then he *meaſureth* unto others: why ſhould not that renowned *Court* be more particularly and expreſly attended with ſo high and needful examinations? But now enough of that, I long to ſee that weighed, which is preſented, take up thoſe holy *weights* of thine, which may faithfully diſcover how *light* or *ponderous* each parcel is in *Gods* moſt holy preſence. Maſter *Cotton* firſt complaines againſt the *publiſhing* of his *private letter*, with an *Anſwer* thereunto: he faulteth the *diſcuſſer* for *puniſhing* his *conſcience*, againſt the *diſcuſſers* own *Tenent* of *liberty* of *conſcience*, for breach of *rule*, in firſt *publiſhing* to the world before *private admonition*, and telling the *Church.*

Truth. How juſtly may I begin with the *defenders* own *concluſion* of this firſt *Chapter*! He that ſetteth forth of his *way* in the firſt *entrance* of his *journey*, no marvel if he *wander* all the day after. For,

Firſt, the *diſcuſſer* never wrote any ſuch *letter* to Maſter *Cotton*, as Maſter *Cotton* ſo often affirms, and mentioneth throughout his *Book.*

The like miſtake he fals into, in ſome other *paſſages*, which ſhall be gently toucht at, and paſſed by, as the failing of *memory.*

Peace. It is often ſeen, that ſmall *matters* in the firſt *ſteps* and

entrance of a *business*, prove *ominous*; and although *love* bids us lay the *blame* on *memory*: yet since *Nil sine providentia & Deus est maximus in minimis*, and not a *Sparow* nor a *Haire* fals without him; methinks such a *stumble* in the *threshold* should have one sad *consideration* in Master *Cottons* breast, so long as he resides in the *chamber* of this *discourse*.

Truth. To my *knowledge* there was no such letter or *intercourse* passed between Master *Cotton* and the discusser; but what I have heard, is this: One Master *Hall* of *Roxbury*, presented the prisoners Arguments against persecution to Master *Cotton*, who gave this present controverted *Answer*; with the which Master *Hall* not being satisfied, he sends them unto the *discusser*, who never saw the said *Hall*, nor those *Arguments* in writing; (though he well remember that he saw them in print some yeers since) and apprehending no other, but that Master *Cottons Answer* was as publike, as Master *Cottons profession* and *practice* of the same *Tenent* was and is, what *breach* of rule can Master *Cotton* say it was, to answer that in the *streets* which Master *Cotton* proclaimeth on the *House top?*

The occasion of publishing the bloody Tenent.

Peace. But grant it had been a *private letter*, and the *discourse* and the *opinion* private: yet why doth he charge the *discusser* with breach of *rule*, in not using orderly wayes of *Admonition*, and telling the *Church*, when Master *Cotton* himself in this *Book* blames the *discusser* for disclaiming *Communion* with their *Church*, and they also (after he was driven by *banishment* from civil *habitation* amongst them) had sent forth a bull of *excommunication* against him in his absence.

Master Cotton blames the discusser for not walking in contradictions.

Such *practise* the *Lord Jesus* and his first *Apostles* or *Messengers* never taught, nor any that are truely their *successors* ever will. But to end this Chapter, in the last place, why doth Master *Cotton* complaine of the *loss* of the *liberty* of his *conscience*, and of the *punishing* of his *conscience*, by the publishing of his *letter*; aggravating it, because the *discusser* pleads for *liberty* of *conscience*? Is he indeed on the Lord Jesus mind for the sparing mens *bodies*, and present *life*, for their *souls* and eternal *lives* sake? Doth he indeed plead for *liberty of conscience*? Let the following *discourse*, and this present *passage* manifest how tender he is of his own *conscience*, and of the *liberty* of it; But how *censorious*

Unchristian partiality.

rious and senseless of the *pangs* and *agonies* of other mens *conscience* and *spirits*, and *sorrows?* As if his alone were the *Apple* of his *eye*, but Theirs like the *brawny* hoofs of the roaring *Bulls* of *Bashan.*

Peace. Complaines Master *Cotton* of *persecution* for such dealing against him? I never heard that *disputing, discoursing* and *examining* mens *Tenents* or *Doctrines* by the word of *God*, was (in proper *English acceptation* of the word) *persecution* for *conscience*: well had it been for *New England*, that no servant of *God*, nor *witness* of *Christ Jesus*, could justly take up no other *complaint* against *New England* for other kinds of *persecution*: surely the voice of *Christ Jesus* to *Paul*; *Saul, Saul*, why *persecutest thou me?* was for another kind of *persecution.*

Master Cotton complaining of being persecuted by the discusser.

Truth. Deare Peace, if the *Bishops* of *Old England* or *new* had never stirred up the *Civil Magistrate* to any other suppressing of mens *consciences*, nor no other *persecuting*, then *discussing, disputing* &c. they should never have needed to have been charged so publikely in the face of the world, with the *bloody Tenent* of *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience.*

Examination of CHAP. II.

Peace.

IN this *Chapter* Master *Cotton* much complaines, that he is charged in the *Title* to maintaine *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience*, and professeth, That he would have none be punished for *conscience*, unless his errour be *fundamental*, or *seditiously*; or *turbulenly* promoted, and that after due *conviction* of *conscience*, and that it may appear he is not punished for his *conscience*, but for sinning against his *conscience.*

Truth. Persecution for *conscience*, is in *plaine English*, *hunting* for *conscience*; and Master *Cotton* being a son of *wine* (as the *Jews* speak in their *Proverb*) is loth to be counted a son of *vinegar*, and therefore would avoid the word *persecuting* or *hunting* (as something too wilde and fierce an *expression*, more suitable to the bloody sons of *vinegar* and *gall* the *Roman Emperors, Popes* and *Bishops*) and he much desires to have the word *persecuting*

Persecution in plaine English is hunting.

Master Cottons tender conscience, can hardly digest to be a persecutor, but a punisher.

cuting changed for the word *punishing*, a tearm more proper to true *Justice*.

But is not this the *guise* and *profession* of all that ever *persecuted* or *hunted* men for their *Religion* and *conscience*? are not all *histories* and *experiences* full of the *pathetical* speeches of *persecutors* to this purpose? You will say you are persecuted for your *conscience*, you plead *conscience*; Thou art a *heretick*, the *devil* hath deceived thee, thy *conscience* is deluded, *&c.* And

2. Whether such *punishing* as Master *Cotton* assigneth to that threefold degree of *heretical* wickedness, *chap.* 5. to wit, To hold a *fundamental error*, To *persist* therein after *convictior*, and lastly, To *seduce* others thereunto. Or these five summed up (*page* 186 of his book) *subverters* of the *Christian Faith*, *persisters* therein after *conviction*, *blasphemers*, *idolaters*, *seducers*; I say, such a punishing which he affirmes to be *death* and *killing*, will not amount to make up a *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience* let the *Spanish Inquisitions* be an instance, who when they torture and rack, and kill and burn for such *crimes*, yet varnish they and guild all over with the painted *Title* of *Gods Glory*, holy *zeal*, just *punishment* of *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, &c.

Peace. But Master *Cotton* blameth, that he should be charged with the *Doctrine* of *persecution* by *consequence*.

Truth. Let his whole *book*, and the *prosecuting* of this *controversie* be *judge*, whether it be only drawn from *consequences*, and not express *Tearms*. And for the washing of this *bloody Tenent* in the *blood* of the *Lambe*, *Time* hath and will discover that such a *Blackamore* cannot be washed in the *blood* of *Christ* himself, without *Repentance*; for they that washed their *robes* in the *blood* of the *Lamb* (*Revelations the* 7.) were true *penitents*: untill therefore that *persecutors* repent of this bloody *Doctrine* and *practice*, they must hear (as the men of *Judah* did) the prophet *Isaiahs thunder*, Isa. 1. *Your hands are defiled with blood; wash you, make you clean*, &c.

Examina-

Examination of CHAP. III.

Peace.

BUt what *knot* in a *Bulrush* is that, which Master *Cotton* observes the *discusser* findes in his first *distinction* of *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience?*

Truth. For the matter upon the point, they both agree, as Master *Cotton* hath penned himself, that *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience*, is not onely when a man is punished for *professing* such *Doctrines* and *Worships*, as he believes to be of *God*, but also when he is punished for renouncing such *Doctrine*, and not practising such *Worships*, which he believes are not of *God*, &c.

All the *difference* is this, that the *discusser* saith, This should have been expressed in the *distinction*; Master *Cotton* saith, it was implied, and therefore the observing of the not expressing of it, was but a *knot* in a *Bulrush*.

Peace. Tis wofully true, that the *peace* of the *Saints*, and the *peace* of the *world*, hath been lamentably, broake and distracted, in *punishing* or *persecuting* of men, but especially the *Saints*, upon both these grounds: but yet the *records* of *time* and *experience* will tell us, that since the *Apostasie* from the *truth* of *Jesus*, the rising of *Antichrist*, and the setting up of many State-*Religions*, the sorest and frequentest *punishing* or *hunting* of the children of *God* hath been (as in the case of *Nebuchadnezzars Image*) for not bowing *down* to the *State-Images*, for not coming to *Church*, for not obeying the *Laws*, for withstanding the *Kings*, or *Queens*, or *Parliaments proceedings*.

Gods children commonly persecuted for not yeelding to State-worships.

Truth. Your *observation* is most *serious* and *seasonable*, and your *complaint* as *true* as *lamentable*: for since all *States* and *Governments* of the world (which lies in wickedness) set up their *State* or *Commonweal-Religions*, *Nebuchadnezzars* golden *Images*, and *Jeroboams* golden *Calves* (the *types* of the *State-Worships* of after *Ages*) whereby others are made to sin and bow down to their seeming glorious *worships*; and since the *dissenters*, *refusers*, *non-conformers*, *non-covenanters* (the *witnesses* of *God* against such *abominations*) are but few; and what *positive worship* they hold

hold or practice (commonly) is most *retired*, and flying into *private corners*, by reason of the *violence* of the *persecution*; they are hence, soonest in all *places* of their abode, and more *speedily* and *immediately* called for and sought out, in the several *Parish-towns* where they live to bow down to the *common-Image*, the *beastly* and *Calvish* inventions of the *Ieroboams* of this perishing *world*; and for refusing to *subscribe*, to *conforme*, to come to *Church*, to do as their *neighbours*, for being wiser then their *Teachers*, their *Fathers*, their *Magistrates*, the *Country*, the *Parliament*, the *Kingdome* (and sometimes the whole *world*, in their *Oecumenical*, or *worldly Councels*) they are thus punished and hunted for their *conscience*, for *Gods*, for *Iesus* sake; which is a point Master *Cotton* will say (if the *blood* of his *dear Redeemer* spilt in the *blood* of his servants, kindly affect him) of greater weight then *knots* in *bulrushes*.

Examination of CHAP. IV.

Peace.

IN the second *distinction* (to wit, of *fundamentals*, without right *belief* whereof, a man cannot be saved) Master *Cotton* upon the point confesseth it was a just reproof, and saith, that he meant only of the first sort of *foundations*, that concern *salvation*, and not of those that concerne the *foundation* of the *Church*, and *Christian Religion*.

Truth. It is strange that Master *Cotton* should so distinguish of *foundations*, when the holy *Scripture* attributes *salvation* to those *foundations* of the *Church*, and the *order* of it: The Lord added to the *Church* such as should be *saved*, and the like *figure* whereunto *Baptisme* now *saveth* us; and concerning the *resurrection* that we are saved by *hope*, *Rom.* 8.

Act. 2. 2 Pet. 3.

Besides, are not those first *foundations*, which he saith concerne *salvation*, *foundations* also of the *Christian Religion*? If not of the *Christian*, then I demand of what *Religion* are they *foundations*?

Peace. It cannot therefore be denyed, but that his *distinction* of *fundamentals*, was most dangerous, tending directly to condemne

demne the *generation* of the *righteous*, who have been generally for many *generations* ignorant of the *Christian* way of *worship*. But what say you to this *reply*, touching how far the *New English* (implicite) *Parishes* compare and partake with those of *old?*

Truth. How far those *Churches* cannot be cleered from not *comming out* from the *Parish-worship*, from being themselves (implicitely) *Parish-Churches* (notwithstanding their *Fig-leaves*, &c.) and from being *persecutors* of such as endeavour to cover their *nakedness* with better clothing, will appear, with Christs assistance, in the *examination* of his reply to the *Answer* of his *Letter*.

Examination of CHAP. V.

Peace.

THe discourse of this *chapter* is *larger* and more *controversial*, and therefore (*dear Truth*) requires your most *serious* and deeper *examination* of it. Master *Cotton* here distinguisheth *worship* into *true* and *false*, and infers, that if *true worship*, *fellowship* with *God* is held; but if *false*, *fellowship* with *God* is lost. And whereas he was thereupon minded by the *discusser* to have lived in a false *Ministery* in *England*, and to have practised the false *worship* of the *Common Prayer*, he labours to clear both, and in particular he saith, It is not truly said, that the *Spirit* of *God* maketh the *Ministery* one of the *foundations* of the *Christian religion*, (*Heb.* 6.) For it is (saith he) only a *foundation* of *Christian order*, not of *faith* or *religion*: and he adds, The *Apostle* puts an express *difference* between *faith and order*, *Col.* 2. 5. What can be said thereunto?

Truth. 1. Alas, what buildings can weak souls expect from such Master-builders, when Master *Cotton* is so confounded about the very *foundations?* In the former *Chapter*, he distinguisheth between *foundations* that concern *salvation*, and those that concern the the *Church* and *Christian religion*: here he distinguisheth between those of Christian *order*, and those of *Faith*, or *Christian religion*. In the former, he opposeth *faith* against *religion* and

order; here he opposeth *faith* and *religion* to *order*. Grant his *memory* (in so short a turn) failed him, yet doubtless his *mistakes* about the *foundation* of *Christian religion*, are most gross and inexcusable.

Truth. 2. I finde no such *distinction* in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, between the *Christian order*, and the *Christian religion*; as if the *order* of the *Church* of *God* (I might say, the *Church* it self, and the *Ministery* of it) were no part of the *Christian religion*.

It is true, *Coloss.* 2. speaks of *faith* and *order*, but yet denies not the *Christian Church*, and the *order* of it, to be any part of the *Christian religion*. It is true, that sometimes *faith* implies the particular *grace* of *believing*, and yet sometimes it is put for the whole *Christian religion* (as *Jude* 1. contend for the *faith* once delivered) so that if Master *Cotton* confesseth the *Ministery* of the *Word* (*Heb.* 6.) to be a *foundation* of *Christian* or *Church-order*, he cannot deny it to be a *foundation* of the *Christian religion* or *worship* reduced to those two, of *Faith* and *Order*.

Peace. What answer you to his saying, It is not a *true* and a *safe speech*, to call the *fellowship* and *blessing* of *God* vouchsafed to corrupt *Churches* or *Ministers*, or *ministrations* unpromised, or beyond a word of *promise*, of *God*? Against which he alleadgeth (*Ier.* 13.) That *God* will be *merciful* to his peoples iniquities, and 2 *Chron.* 30. *Gods* mercy to every one that prepareth his *heart*, &c. although he be not cleansed after the *preparation*, &c.

Truth. The *promises* hold forth no *blessing* or *fellowship* of *God* to *false worships*; against which all the holy *Scripture* denounceth *cursings*, both in the old and new *Testament*; nor in particular doth that of *Ieremy* promise any *pardon* of sin, but to the *repentant*, though most true also is that *distinction* of *particular* repentance for known sins, and *general* for sins unknown. Such was the sin (it may be) of the *Israelites*, 2 *Chron.* 30. in their want of such their legal cleansing.

But I add, how can that one act of covering or conniving at *ceremoniall* uncleanness (about a true *worship*) be brought to prove a promise of *Gods* blessing and fellowship, to a constant course of a *false* and invented way of prayer by the *Latine* or *English Masse-book*, as some have rightly called it?

Peace. Con-

Peace. Concerning *Ordination*, Master *Cotton* saith, that it is no *essential* part of a *call* to the *Ministery*; no more then *Coronation* is *essential* to the Office of a *King*: And *Jehoshua* the *high priest* did not lose *fellowship* with *God*, though he was clothed with *filthy* garments, *Zech.* 3.

Truth. I answer, *Ordination* or laying on of hands, comprizeth the whole *Ministery*, *Heb.6.* wherein if *Election* or *Ordination* be false, I see not how the *Ministery* is true, any more then a *marriage* can be true, where either *consent* or *solemnity* by a true power is wanting: or a *King* rightly instituted in his *Kingly* office, when either *election* or *coronation* is given or made by a false power.

2. But further, *Ordination* is not well represented by a *Kings coronation* (to say nothing of the statelines of the simile) for a *King* may administer by *successive election* and *consent* (in some States) before *coronation*, and *coronation* is but for publike *state* and *ceremony*; but a *Minister* cannot administer before *ordination* (no more then a *husband* enjoy his *spouse* before marriage) which is the puting of him into, and the investing of him with his Authority, as we see both in the *priests* of the *law*, and the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*.

Ordination of Christs Ministry undfity compared to the coronatien of Kings.

Concerning *Jehoshua* his garments; This kind of *confession* is not after the *patterne* of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *David*, *Daniel* &c. but with mincing and excusing. Moreover, in this place of *Zechary*, *God* only comforts his people with the promise of *better times*, and more new and costly garments: for the *High priest* now returning from *captivity*, his garments were torne, foule and filthy.

Lastly, These were the *garments* of the *Lords* appointing, though in a poor and afflicted condition: what is this to a *fools cap* or *coate* (the *cap* or *surplice*) what is this to the office of *Ieroboams priests*, which never were of *God*, though happily some of them might studiously give themselves to attaine and teach the knowledge of *God*, and might (in a kind) separate from the false, 2 *Chron.* 13. and some good thing might be found in some, as in *Ieroboams* child, and happily many others as in these our times?

Peace. Concerning *common prayer*, he pleades the time of their *ignorance*; as also that the *high places* were removed, 2 *Chron.*

Master Cotton pleads for Common prayer.

14. and knows not of any ſuch faithful *admonition* as was mentioned.

Truth. God winketh at ſome *ignorance*, but is not blind to paſs by all: The *high places* were an high ſin, and in *Gods* time diſcovered, repented of, and removed; but ever by God diſclaimed, *&c.* And although the *diſcuſſer* acknowledgeth himſelf unworthy to ſpeak for *God* to Maſter *Cotton* or any, yet poſſibly Maſter *Cotton* may call to minde, that the *diſcuſſer* (riding with himſelf and one other of precious memorie (Maſter *Hooker*) to and from *Sempringham*) preſented his *Arguments* from *Scripture*, why he durſt not joyn with them in their uſe of *Common prayer*; and all the *Anſwer* that yet can be remembred the *diſcuſſer* received from Maſter *Cotton*, was, that he ſelected the good and beſt prayers in his uſe of that *Book*, as the *Author* of the *Councel* of *Trent* was uſed to do, in his uſing of the *Maſſe-book*.

Peace. Yea but further (ſaith Maſter *Cotton*) *Numbers* 20. *Moſes* uſed an unwarrantable way of *propheſying*, and yet *God* gave water; therefore ſet *formes* of *prayer* may bring a bleſſing down.

Examination of Num. 6. 20.

Truth. Moſes his calling was true in a true *Church*; his failing was in point of *paſſion* and *unbeliefe*. What is this to the *Common prayer*, where all were *Idols*, both the *ſociety* or *communion*; in which the *prieſt* himſelf, and the *worſhip* were but inventions? *&c.*

Peace. But, ſaith he, *Common prayer* is not ſuch a *fundamentall errour*.

Truth. The *word* and *prayer* are thoſe two great *ſervices* of *God*, which even the *Apoſtles* themſelves gave themſelves unto: And if Maſter *Cotton* intend not that his *Argument* ſhall ſtand good againſt Maſter *Ball*, to prove the falſeneſs of ſuch a maine *worſhip* of *God*, let him ſhew what that *worſhip* of *God* is, which he intendeth, when he ſo diſtinguiſheth of ſome *falſe worſhip* wherein *fellowſhip* with *God* is loſt.

Acts 6.

Peace. To end this Chapter, Maſter *Cotton*, to clear himſelf from *partiality*, and that he never uſeth to *meaſure* that to any, which he would not have meaſured to himſelf, He propoſeth a threefold *wickedneſs*, which he ſaith *God* never left him to fall into.

First,

First, Any *fundamental errour.* Secondly, persisting therein after *admonition* and *conviction.* Thirdly, *seducing* of others. And lastly, he professeth, that if he should so fall, it were better for him to be cut off by *death* or *banishment*, then the *flocke* of *Christ* to be *seduced* by his *heretical* wickednes.

Three causes for which Master-Cotton maintaines persecution.

Truth. I here first observe (as also in other places) Master *Cottons* acknowledgement and *profession* of what a man may be punished for: to wit, a *fundamental errour, persisting* in it, and *seducing* others; all which are *spiritual* matters, of *religion* and *worship*, for which he decrees from the *Magistrate*, *death* or *banishment*; and yet elsewhere in many other passages, he professeth against all *persecution* for *conscience.*

Secondly, If Master *Cotton* should so fall, and be so dealt with all by the *civil state.*

First, would not Master *Cotton* conscientiously be perswaded of the *Truth* of what he held, though accounted by others *fundamental error, obstinacy, heresie?*&c.

Secondly, Will Master *Cotton* think that *death* or *banishment* would be wholesome and *Christian* meanes and *remedies* to change and heal his *conscience?*

Thirdly, He (to prevent the *infection* of others) granting the *civil Magistrate* must punish him with *death* or *banishment*, doth he not make the *Magistrate*, yea the *Civil State* (what State soever he live in) the *Judge* of his *conscience* and *errors?*

Fourthly, Confessing it now, that to worship *God* with a *Common prayer*, was his sin, and yet it was his *conscience*, that he might so do: If the *Magistrate* had judged it to be a *fundamental error*, he grants he might then have put him to *death* or *banishment*, if persisting, &c. though yet he hath a *proviso*, and a *retreat* against this *assault*, professing, that if the *Magistrate* be not rightly informed, he must stay his *proceedings*: of which afterward.

Peace. What is this, but, in plaine *English*, to profess that all the *Magistrates* and *Civil powers*, throughout the whole world, although they have command and power from *Christ Jesus*, to judge in matters of *conscience, religion*, and *worship*, and live in daily sin, that they do not cut off the *heretick, blasphemer, seducer*, &c. yet except they be of Master *Cottons* minde and *conscience*, to

ac-

account and judge to be, they must *suspend* their *duty* and *office* in this case, until they be better informed, that is, untill they be of his mind?

Examination of CHAP. VI.

Peace.

But to proceed to the sixth Chapter, in which is handled that which more especially concerns my *self*. It is too lamentably known, how the furious *troopes* of *persecutors* in all *States*, *Cities*, *Towns*, &c. have ever marched under my name, the white colours of *peace*, *civil peace*, *publike peace*.

Truth. Yet Master *Cotton* confesseth, that the *Cities* peace is an *humane* and *civil peace*, as was further explained in many *instances* from *Babylon*, *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, &c. against which Master *Cotton* excepts not.

Peace. The difference or controversie in this Chapter lies in two things. First, In the *similitudes* used from *companies* and *societies*, voluntarily entering into *combinations*, which are distinct from the City.

2. In the nature of the *Church*, which he maintaines to be a *society*, whose *order* the City is bound to preserve, as well as any of their civil *orders* or *societies*.

Truth. To begin with the first, Master *Cotton* replies, "That "although such *societies* be not of the *essence* of the *City*, yet "they are of the *integral* and *conservant* causes of the City, and "so the *disturbance* of any of those *orders* or *societies* in the City, "disturbes the *City* it self.

Christs Church may be gathered and dissolved without disturbance of civil Peace.

But I answer, The *similitude* was used more especially from a *colledge* of *Physitians*, or a *society* of *Merchants*, *Turkish*, *East-Endies*, &c. and consequently any other of that kinde, voluntarily combining together for the better inriching of themselves in the improvement of their *faculties* for publike good (at least so pretended.) It was never intended, that if such necessary Trades, Callings *&c.* as he mentioneth, be dissolved and ruined, that there would be no *disturbance* of the *peace* of the City: But that if such or such a way and *order* of men of those faculties I mentioned, voluntarily

voluntarily *combine*, and voluntarily also *dissolve*; yet all this may may be, without any breach of *civil* and *publike peace*.

Peace. If so, much more the *church* of *Christ*, which is a *spiritual society* voluntarily uniting, may dissolve; I say, much more, without the breach of the *peace* of the *city*, which is of a *civil* and humane nature, as is confessed, and was urged in the instances of *Ephesus*, &c.

Truth. 2. We are wont when we speak of keeping or breaking the *Peace*, to speak of *Words* or *Actions* of *Violence*, *Sedition*, *Uproare*, &c. for, *Actions* of the *Cases*, *Pleas*, and *Traverses* may be, and yet no peace broken, when men submit to the *Rule* of *State*, for the composing of such *differences*, &c. Therefore it is that I affirme, that if any of *Christs Church* have difference with any other man in *civill* and *humane* things, he ought to be judged by the *Law*: But if the *Church* have *spiritual controversies* among themselves or with any other, or if *God* take away the *Candlestick* as he threatned the Church in *Ephesus*, all this may be, and yet no civil peace broken: Yea, amongst those that profess the same *God* and *Christ*, as the *Papists* and *Protestants*, or the same *Mahomet*, as the *Turks* and *Persians*, there would no civil *Peace* be broken, notwithstanding their *differences* in *Religion*, were it not for the bloody *Doctrine* of *Persecution*, which alone breaks the bounds of *civil* peace, and makes *Spiritual* causes the causes of their bloodie *dissentions*.

The doctrine and practise of Persecution, breaks the peace wherever it comes.

I observe therefore, a twofold *Fallacie* in Master *Cottons reply*. First, he fallaciously mingles *Peace* and *Prosperity* together: for though it be true, that under the terme *Peace* all good things are sometimes concluded, yet when we speak of *Hereticks* or *Schismaticks* breaking the *civil* peace, or strowing *Doctrines* tending to break the *civill peace*, we must understand some such words or acts of *violence*, wherein the *bounds* and *orders* of the *City*, *Laws*, and *Courts* are violated; taking it for granted (for this is the *Supposition*) that the *Lawes* of the *City* be meerly civil and humane. Hence then I affirme, that there is no *Doctrine*, no *Tenent* so directly tending to break the *Cities peace*, as this *Doctrine* of *persecuting* or *punishing* each other for the cause of *conscience* or *Religion*.

The civil peace of a place or people is one thing, and the welfare or prosperity in health wealth, &c. another.

Againe, it is a second Fallacie to urge your order of the *Church*, and

and the *Excellency* thereof, and that therefore it is a Breach of the *civil peace*, when the *Order* of the *church* is not preserved: For although it is most true, that sooner or later the *God* of heaven punisheth the *nations* of the world, for their *Idolatries, Superstitions*, &c. yet Master *Cotton* himself acknowledgeth (as was affirmed) that many glorious flourishing *cities* there are all the world over, wherein no *church* of *Christ* is extant: Yea, that the *Commonweale of Rome* flourished five hundred years together, before ever the name of *Christ* was heard in it; which so great a *Glory* of so great a *continuance*, mightily evinceth the distinction of the *civill peace* of a *State* from that which is *Christian Religion*.

The Cities of the world enjoy peace and prosperity, where Christ is not heard of.

It is true (as Master *Cotton* tells us) that the Turks have plagued the *Antichristian* world, for their *Idolatries*: Yet *History* tels us, that one of their *Emperours (Mahomet)* was the man that first broke up and desolated two most glorious ancient *cities*, *Constantinople* (which had flourished 1120 yeares (since its first building by *Constantine*) and *Athens*, which from *Solons* giving of it *Laws*, had flourished two thousand yeares, notwithstanding their Idolatries, &c.

Truth. It is apparent that then the *Christian Religion* gloriously flourished (contrary to Master *Cottons* observation) when the *Roman Emperours* took not power to themselves to reform the *abuses* in the *Christian* Church, but persecuted it; and then the *church* was ruined and overwhelmed with *Apostacy* and *Antichristianism*, when the *Emperours* took that power unto themselves: And then it was (as Master *Cotton* elsewhere confesseth) that *Christianitie* lost more, even in *Constantines* time, then under bloody *Nero, Domitian*, &c.

Christianity lost most under such Emperours as claimed Christs power to reform the Church, &c.

Peace. It cannot be denied (dear Truth) but that the *Peace* of a *civil State* (of all States, excepting that of typical *Israel*) was and is meerly and *essentially civil*. But Master *Cotton* saith further, Although the *Inward Peace* of a *church* is *Spiritual*, yet the *outward* Peace of it, *Magistrates* must keep in a way of *Godlinesse* and *Honestie*, 1 Tim. 2.1.

Truth. The *Peace* of a *church* of *Christ* (the onely true *Christian State, Nation, Kingdom*, or *city*) is *Spiritual*, whether *internal* in the Soul, or *external* in the *administration* of it; as the peace of a *civil State* is *civil, internal* in the mindes of men, and

external

external in the administration and conversation of it; and for that place of *Timothy*, it hath been fully spoken to in this *discourse*, and the Discusser hath as yet seen no *exception* against what hath been spoken.

Peace. But further, saith Master *Cotton*, although the *peace* of a Country be *civil*, yet it is distracted by disturbing the peace of the *Church* for God cut short the Coasts of the *civil State* when *Jehu* shortned his *Reformation*, 2 King. 10. 31, 32.

Truth. Master *Cotton* denies not (but confessed in his discourse concerning *Baptism*) that *Canaan* was *Typical*, and to be cast out of that *Land*, was to be cast out of *Gods sight*: which proves thus much, That the *church* of *Christ*, the *Israel* now, neglecting to reform, *God* will cut this *Israel* short. But what is this to a meerly *civil State*, which may flourish many hundreds, yea some thousands of yeers together (as I before instanced) when the Name of the true Lord *Jesus Christ* is not so much as heard of within it?

Peace. Lastly, (saith he) the *church* is a *Society*, as well as the *Societies* of *Merchants*, *Drapers*, &c. and it is just to preserve the *Society* of the *church*, as well as any other *Society*.

Truth. When we speak of the *balances* of *Justice*, we must distinguish between the *Balances* of the *Sanctuary*, and the *Balances* of the *World* or *civil States*. It is *spiritual justice* to preserve *spiritual right*; and for that end, the *spiritual King* thereof hath taken *care*. It is *civil Justice* to preserve the *civil rights*; and the *Rights* of a *civil society* ought justly to be *preserved* by a *civil State*: (and yet if a *company* of men combine themselves into a *civil society* by voluntary agreement, and voluntarily dissolve it, it is not *justice* to force them to continue together.)

Peace. The *church* can least of all be forced: for as it is a *spiritual society*, and not subject to any *civil Judicature*; (though some say that a *church* in *NewEngland* was cited to appear before a *civil Court*:) so is the *combination* of it *voluntary*, and the *dissolution* of it in part or whole is voluntary, and endures no Civil violence, but as a *virgin* (in point of *marriage*) *nec cogit*, *nec cogitur*, she forceth not, nor can be forced by any *civil power*.

The Societies or Churches of the Saints are meerly voluntary in combinning or dissolving.

Truth. But lastly, if it be *justice* to preserve the Society of the *church*, is it not partiality in a meer *civil State* to preserve one

onely *society*, and not the persons of other Religious societies and *consciences* also? But the Truth is, this mingling of the *church* and the *world* together, and their *orders* and *societies* together, doth plainly discover, that such *churches* were never called out from the *world*, and that this is only a secret *policy* of *flesh* and *blood*, to get *protection* from the *world*, and so to keep (with some little stilling of *conscience*) from the *Cross* or *Gallowes* of *Jesus Christ*.

Christs Church is called out of the world.

Truth. Yea, but hear (saith Master *Cotton*) those *excellent penmen* of the *Spirit* (both the *Father* and the *Son*) *David* and *Solomon*. First *David* (Psalme 122) They shall prosper that love the peace of *Jerusalem*: and *Solomon*, Where the *righteous* rejoyce, there is great *glory*, *Prov.* 28. Now (saith he) what is the *church* but a *congregation* of *righteous* men? If the *rejoycing* of the *Church* be the *glory* of a *Nation*, surely the *disturbing*, and destroying, and dissolving the *church* is the *shame* and *confusion* of a *Nation*.

Truth. The outward *prosperity* of a *Nation*, was a typical figurative *blessing*, of that *national* and figurative *church* of *Israel* in *Canaan*. It is now made good spiritually to them that love the *spiritual Jerusalem*: for though *godliness* hath a promise of things of this life convenient; yet *persecution* is the common and ordinary portion of the *Saints* under the *Gospel*, though that *cup* be infinitely sweetned also to them that drink of it with *Christ Jesus*, by the measure and increase of a hundred fold for one, even with persecution in this life.

The flourishing of civil states.

2. It is true, the *rejoycing* of a *Church* of *Christ*, is the *glory* of any *Nation*, and the contrary a shame: yet this proveth not that *God* vouchsafeth to no *state*, *civil peace*, and temporal *glory*, except it establish and keep up a Church of *Christ* by force of armes; for the contrary we have mentioned, and Master *Cotton* confesseth the flourishing of *States* ignorant of *Christ*, from *Age* to *Age*, yea, and as I have mentioned, even to two thousand yeers in *Athens*; six *generations* before it heard of *Christ*, and fourteen *generations* since, with the sprinking (for some time) of the knowledge of *Christ Jesus* in it.

Peace. 2. But consider (saith Master *Cotton*) the *excellency* and *preheminence* of the *church*, that the *world* is for it, and would not subsist but for it, *&c.*

Truth

Truth. Tis true, *glorious* things are ſpoken of the *City* of *God*, &c. yet for many *Ages* together Maſter *Cotton* confeſſeth the *Nations* of the *world* may ſubſiſt & *flouriſh* without it; and though it be the *duty* of the *Nations* of the *world* to *countenance* and cheriſh the *church* of *Chriſt*; yet where is there any *commiſſion*, either in the *New* or *Old Teſtament*, that the *Nations* of the *world* ſhould be the *judges*, *governors*, and *defenders* of *Chriſt Ieſus* his *ſpiritual kingdome*, and ſo bound to take up *Armes* and ſmite with the *civil ſword* (among ſo many pretenders) for that which they believe to be the *church* of *Chriſt*?

No civil ſtate can either by Chriſts Teſtimony, or true reaſon, be judge of the Eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual.

Peace. 3. (ſaith he) It is matter of juſt diſpleaſure to *God*, and ſad grief of *heart* to the *church*, when *civil ſtates* looke at the *ſtate* of the *church*, as of little or no concernment to themſelves. *Zech.* 1. 19. *Lam.* 1. 13.

Truth. Grant this, and that the moſt jealous *God* will awake in his ſeaſon, for theſe *ſins*, and for the *perſecutions*, *idolatries*, and *blaſphemies*; which the *Nations* live in: yet what is this for warrant to the *Nations* (as before) to judge and rule the *church* of *Chriſt*, yea, and under the colour of defending *Chriſts* faith, and preſerving *Chriſts church* pure, to tear *Chriſt* out of *heaven*, by *perſecuting* of his *Saints* on *earth*; and to fire the *world* with devouring *flames* of bloody *wars*, and this onely for the *ſweet ſake* of the *prince* of *peace*?

Peace. Dear *Truth*, we are now upon an high point, and that which neerly concerns my ſelf, the *peace* of the *world*, and the *Nations* of it. Maſter *Cotton* ſaith further, *God* winketh at the *Nations* in the time of their *ignorance*, and ſuffers the *Nation* to flouriſh many hundred yeers together, as did the *Empire* of *Rome*; yet when the *church* of *Chriſt* comes to be planted amongſt them, then, as he brought the *Turkes* upon the *Romans*, for their *perſecuting* the *church*, and not preſerving it in *purity*; ſo conſequently will he do unto the *Nations* of the *world*.

Truth. I anſwer, the moſt righteous *Judge* of the whole world hath plauged the *Nations* of the *world*, both before *Chriſts coming*, and ſince, for their *pride* and *cruelty* againſt his people, for their *idolateries*, *blaſphemies*, &c. Yet Maſter *Cotton* acknowledgeth that many *ſtates* have flouriſhed many hundred yeers together, when no true *church* of *Chriſt* hath been found in them:

and Master *Cotton* will never prove, that *God* ever commanded the *Nations* and *governments* of the world, to gather or constitute his *churches*, and to preserve them in *purity*: For *God* gave his *ordinances*, both before and since *Christ*, to his *people* onely, whom he *chuseth* and calleth out of the *World*, and the *Nations* of it: and he hath punished and dissolved them, for their obstinate *neglect* thereof. And for the *Roman Empire*, and the *Emperors* thereof, the *Christian Religion*, and the *purity* thereof, never lost so much, as when the *Emperors* were perswaded of Master *Cottons bloody Tenent*, as Master *Cotton* and all men seen in *History* and *Christianity* must confess.

Peace. But further, although (saith Master *Cotton*) the peace of the *church* be a *spiritual inward* peace, yet there is an *outward peace* of the *church* due to them from *Princes* and *Magistrates*, in a way of *godliness* and *honesty*, 1 *Tim.* 2. But in a way of *ungodliness* and *idolatry*, it is an wholesome *faithfulness* to the *church*, if *Princes* trouble the *outward peace* of the *church*, that so the *church* finding themselves wounded, and pricked in the house of their *friends*, they may repent, and return to their first *husband*, *Zech.* 13. *Hos.* 2.

Truth. The peace of the Church is not only *inward*, between *God* and *themselves*; but as the *Argument* importeth, to which Master *Cotton* answereth, the peace of the Church *external* and *outward*, is *spiritual*, essentially differing from the *peace* of the *civil state*, which is meerly *civil* and humane. When the *peace* of the *churches*, *Antioch*, *Corinth*, *Galatia*, was disturbed by *spiritual oppositions*, the *Lord* never sent his *Saints* for *civil* help to maintaine their *spirituall* peace, though the *Lord* did send *Paul* to the higher *civil powers*, to preserve his *civil* peace, when he was molested and oppressed by the *Jews* and *Romans*.

Difference of spiritual and civil peace.

2. For that place of *Timothy*, though I have fully spoken to it in this discourse elswhere, yet this now: It proves not, because the *church* must pray for *civil Rulers*, that so they may live a quiet and peaceable life in all *godliness* and *honesty*, that therefore *civil rulers* are *supream rulers* and *judges Ecclesiastical*, next unto *Christ Jesus*, of what is *godliness*, *holiness*, &c. since God hath chosen few *wise* or *noble*, to know *godliness*: And although it is true that Gods end of vouchsafing *peace* and *quietness*, is, that his

his *Churches* might walk in his fear, and in the wayes of *godlineſs*; yet it doth not hence follow, that *Magiſtrates* were the *cauſes* of the *Churches* walking in the fear of *God*, and being edified but only of enjoying *Reſt* from *Perſecution*, *Act.9.*

3. Although *Gods chaſtiſement* call to *repentance*, and although the *falſe Prophet* in the *church* of *Iſrael* was to be wounded and ſlaine (as they are now to be cut off *ſpiritually* from the *church* of *ſpiritual Iſrael*) yet was it ſo in all the other *Nations* of the world? Or did *Chriſt Ieſus* appoint it to be ſo in all the *Nations* of the *world*, ſince his coming, which is the great *queſtion* in difference?

4. And indeed what is this, but to add *coals* to *coals*, and *wood* to *fire*, to teach the *Nations* of the *world*, to be *briars* and *thorns*, *butchers* and *tormentors* to the *Lilies* and *Lambes* of the moſt holy and innocent *Lamb* of *God Chriſt Ieſus*?

Peace. But God (ſaith Maſter *Cotton*) cut *Iſrael* ſhort in their *civil ſtate* or *Nation*, when they cut ſhort their *reformation*, 1 *King.* 10.

Truth. Maſter *Cotton* elſwhere denying a *National church*, which is bounded with natural and earthly limits, it is a wonder how he can apply that inſtance of *National Iſrael*, to the now *ſpiritual Nation* and *Iſrael* of *God*? May he not as well promiſe earthly *peace* and *proſperity* then moſt to abound to *Gods people*, when they moſt proſper and flouriſh in *holineſs*, *zeal*, &c. The contrary whereof, to wit *perſecution*, is moſt evident in all the New *Teſtament*, and all mens new and freſh *experience*.

When Gods people flouriſh moſt in godlineſs then moſt perſecuted.

Peace. To end this Chapter, Maſter *Cotton* affirmes, that *civil* peace (to ſpeak properly) is not only a *peace* in *civil* things for the *object*, but the peace of all the *perſons* in the *City* for the *ſubject*. The *church* is one *ſociety* in the *City*, as well as the *ſociety* of *Merchants*, *Drapers* &c. And if it be *civil juſtice* to protect one, then the other alſo.

Truth. *Civil peace* will never be proved to be the *peace* of all the ſubjects or *Citizens* of a *City* in *ſpiritual* Things: The *civil ſtate* may bring into *order*, make *orders*, preſerve in *civil order* all her members: But who ordained, that either the *ſpiritual eſtate* ſhould bring in and force the *civil ſtate* to keep *civil order*, or that the *civil ſtate* ſhould ſit, *judge*, and

and force any of her *subjects* to keep *spiritual order?*

The true and *living God*, is the *God* of *order*, *spiritual*, *civil* and *natural*: *Natural* is the same ever and perpetual: *civil* alters according to the *constitutions* of *peoples* and *nations*: *spiritual* he hath changed from the *national* in one figurative land of *Canaan*, to *particular* and *congregational churches* all the world over; which *order spiritual*, *natural* or *civil*, to confound and abrogate, is to exalt mans *folly* against the most holy and incomprehensible *wisdome* of God, *&c.*

Examination of CHAP. VII.

Peace.

IN his description of *Arrogancy* and *impetuousness*, Master *Cotton* tels us, that he that refuseth to subject his *Spirit* to the *Spirit* of the *prophets*, that shall oppose such as dissent with *clubs swords* and *censorious reproaches*, or reject *communion* with the *church*, &c. his practise tends to the disturbing of *civil* or *church*-peace, or both.

Truth. It is a fallacious mingling of *clubs*, *swords*, *reproaches*, &c. with refusing to submit to the *Spirit* of *prophecie* in the *Prophets*, and rejecting of *communion*, &c. For a man may out of true and upright *conscience* to *God* (as Master *Cotton* will not deny) refuse to submit to a whole true *church*, having the *Truth* of *God* on his side; and may withdraw from *communion* with a *church obstinate* in sin, and this without *breach* of *civil peace*; and therefore the mingling or confounding of these *spiritual resistances* or *disturbances* with *guns*, *swords*, &c. is a mingling and confounding of *heaven* and *earth* together.

A monstrous mingling of spirttual and civil resistance or disturbance.

2. In that he saith, these wayes tend to the disturbance of either *civil* or *church*-peace, or both; he speakes too like the doubtful *oracles* of *Apollo*, which will be true however the event fall out; but yet he toucheth not the *Truth* of the *question*, which concernes *civil peace* only; against the *disturbers* of which, I grant the *civil powers* to be armed with a *civil sword*, not in vaine, and concerning which divers cases were propounded of seeming *Arrogance* and *impetuousness* in *Gods* servants, and yet they fell not justly under any censure of *breach* of *civil peace*.

Peace.

Peace. Tis true (ſaith Maſter *Cotton*) becauſe they were not wayes of *Arrogance* nor *Impetuouſneſs.*

Truth. But will Maſter *Cotton* give way that any *conſcience* but his own may freely *preach* and *diſpute* againſt the *ſtate-religion*, freely reprove the *higheſt*, in ſharpeſt language, for matter of *religion*, refuſe *conformity* to the *common eſtabliſhed religion* and *worſhip*, diſclaime ſubjection to the *civil powers*, in *ſpiritual caſes*, preach againſt the *common policy* and ſeeming *wiſdome* of the *State*, even to a ſeeming *hazarding* of all, and laſtly occaſion great *tumults* and *uproars* (which were the ſix caſes alleadged?) If Maſter *Cotton* granteth this *freedome* to other *conſciences* beſide his own, why preacheth he *perſecution* againſt ſuch a *liberty*, which other *conſciences* beſide his own, believe they juſtly challenge? If to no other *conſcience* then his own, it is not his ſaying ten thouſand times, that his *conſcience* is true, and others falſe, nor any other *diſtinction* in the world, can clear him from moſt unrighteous and unchriſtian *partiality*.

Six instances of holy zeal in Scripture, far from arrogance or impetuouſneſs. Theſe were aleadged from Scripture in the bloody Tenent and acknowledged by Maſter Cotton.

Examination of CHAP. VIII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter (dear Truth) lies a charge concerning thy ſelf. For whereas thou anſwereſt an objection, that this diſtinction concerns not *Truth* or *errour*, but the *manner* of holding or divulging, Maſter *Cotton* affirmes the *diſtinction* to ſpeak expreſly of things *unlawfull* and *erroneous*, and therefore that it cannot be ſaid with *Truth*, that the *diſtinction* concernes not *truth* and *error*.

Truth. The truth is this, the former *diſtinction* ſpeakes of *matter*, and this *diſtinction* ſeems wholly to intend the *manner* of holding forth. The words were theſe: [Again, in points of *Doctrine* and *Worſhip* leſs principal, either they are held forth in a meek and *peaceable* way (though the things be *erroneous* and *unlawful*) or they are held forth with ſuch *Arrogance* and *Impetuouſneſs* as tendeth to the diſturbance of *civil peace*.] In which although things *erroneous* and *unlawful* are mentioned; yet who ſees

sees not but that those words are brought in by the way of *Parenthesis*, which may or may not be left out, and the *distinction* be whole and intire? And therefore Master *Cotton* doth not well to spend precious *time* and *life* upon seeming *advantages*.

Peace. Yea, but (saith he) why is this *distinction* blamed, when the discusser himself acknowledgeth, that there may be a way and manner of holding forth, which may tend to break the *civil peace*.

Truth. That which was excepted most against in the *distinction*, was the persecuting *language* of [*arrogance, impetuousness, boisterousness*,] without declaring what that was: to which Master *Cotton* answers, that the discussers request, was not that he should compile a *discourse*, but return an *answer* to the *letter* of his *friend*; as also that he charged none of *Gods children* with such things.

I reply (as formerly) Master *Cotton's* memory (though otherwise excellent) herein faileth; for, such a *request* the discusser never made unto him, by letter or otherwise. 2. Although he charged not *Gods people* with *arrogance* and *impetuousness*, yet mostly and commonly *Gods children* (though meek and peaceable) are accused to be *arrogant, impetuous* &c. and 'tis the common notorious *language* of *persecutors* against them.

Peace. Concering those six *instances* wherein *Gods children* were occasion of great *opposition* and *spiritual hostility*, yea and of breach of *civil peace*, notwithstanding the *matter* delivered was holy, and the *manner* peaceable, Master *Cotton* answers, they nothing concern the *distinction* which speaks of holding forth things *erroneous* and *unlawful* for the matter, and for the *manner* in a way of *arrogance* and *impetuousness*, to the *disturbance* of *civil peace*.

Truth. I reply, first, it speaks not only of *erroneous* and *unlawful* things (though *erroneous* and unlawful things be admitted in way of *Parenthesis*, as before.) 2. He describes not what this *arrogance* and *impetuousness* is, but wraps up all in one general dark cloud, wherein the best and most zealous of *Gods Prophets* and servants are easily wrapt up as proud, arrogant, and impetuous.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. IX.

Peace.

IN this Chapter I remember you affirmed, that one cause of civil *dissention* and uproar, was the lying of a *State* under *false worship*, whence it endures not the preaching of *light* and *truth*, &c. Master *Cotton* answers, This is not to the purpose, because this is by *accident*.

Truth. It is as much to the purpose to declare (in the examination of the breach of *civil peace* about matters of *Religion*) I say, to declare the true cause of such *troubles* and *uproares*, as it is in the search after the *leaks* of a *ship*, to declare where the *leake* is indeed, when many are said to be where they are not.

2. Whereas he confesseth that *vigilant* and *faithful* ones are not so troubled at the false *Religion* of *Jew* or *Gentile*, as not to tolerate them amongst them in a civil body, he alleadgeth for *instance*, that the *Indians* subjected to their *government*, are not compelled to the *confession* or *acknowledgement* of their *Religion*: I reply, first, who sees not herein unchristian *partiality*, that *Pagans*, *Barbarians* (who happily might more easily be brought from their *natural Religion* to a new forme, then any other) I say, that they should be tolerated in their hideous *worships* of *creatures* and *devils*, while *civil people* (his *countrymen* yea it may be the precious *sons* and *daughters* of the most *high God*) shall be *courted*, *fined*, *whipt*, *banished* &c. for the matters of their *conscience* and *worship* to the true and living *God*?

The Indians professing subjection to the English in New England permited in their devillish worships, when English fearing God, persecuted.

2. Is not this passage *contradictory* to all Master *Cottons* whole discourse in this book, which pleades for the *purity* of *Religion* to be maintained by all *Magistrates* and *civil governments* within their *jurisdictions*, and the suppressing of the contrary, under the penalty of the *destruction* of their *lands* and *countries*, and accordingly hath not the practice of *New England* answered such a *doctrine*? and yet, saith he, we tolerate the false *Religion* of *Jew* or *Gentile*.

Peace. Possibly (Dear Truth) the *distinction* between *Jew*, *Pagan*, and *Christian*, may satisfie (for the present) Master *Cottons* conscience so to write and practise: for thus he addeth, But

 if

if *Christians* shall *apostate*, or if *Jews* and *Pagans* be blasphemous and seducing, then, *&c.*

Truth. Who knows not but that the very *Religion* of *Jew* or *Pagan* is a blaspheming of the true *Religion*? *Revel.2.* I know the blasphemy of them that say they are *Jews*, and are not, but are the *Synagogue* or *church* of *Sathan.*

And whereas Master *Cotton* alleadgeth for proof of this, *Pauls* blaming of false *teachers*, for being *troublers* to the *churches* of *Galatia*, *Gal.* 5. and *Acts* 15 &c. Who, that puts this *inference* into *Christs* balance, but will see the lightness of it, thus? The *churches* of *Christ* are to draw forth the *sword* and *power* of *Christ*, and are not to suffer such as with false *doctrine* trouble their *peace*, *Ergo*: Therefore the *civil state* must not permit such persons to live in the *world*, &c.

Unchristian conclusions.

Peace. The second cause I remember, you alleadged of civil *disturbances* and *hubbubs* about *Religion*, was the *præposterous way* of healing of *corruptions* in *Religion*, as by *whips*, *stocks*, *imprisonment*, &c. unto this Master *Cotton* answers, Then the *Mariners* casting *Jonah* over-boord, for his sin was the *cause* of the *storme.*

Jonahs casting over-boord, a ground of persecution, &c. examined.

Truth. I answer, if that *extraordinary* and *miraculous instance*, be sufficient ground for *Magistrates* casting over-boord whomsoever they judge *Hereticks*, then all civil *states* and *ships* must so practise in *stormes* and troubles on *sea* or shore, to wit, throw over-boord, put to death, not only *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers* &c. but the best of *Gods Prophets* or *servants*, for neglect of their *duty*, *Ministery*, &c. which was *Jonahs* case.

And if so, doth not this set up (and all the world over) by *land* or *sea*, all *Kings* and *Magistrates*, all *Masters* of *ships* and *captaines*, to be the *spiritual* and *Ecclesiastical Judges* of the *religion* and *spiritual* neglects of all their *subjects* or *Passengers*? Such *doctrine* I cannot imagine would have relished with Master *Cotton* in his passage to *New England*; and I humbly desire of God, that he may never tast the bitter fruit of this *Tree*, of which yet so many thousands of *Gods servants* have fed, and himself not a little (to the *Lords* praise and his own) in former times.

Peace.

Peace. Whereas you argued it to be *light* alone, that was able to dispell and scatter the *mists* and *fogs* of *darkness* in the souls and *consciences* of men, Master *Cotton* answers, The judgements of God are as *light* that goeth forth, *Hos.* 6. 3. *Isa.* 26.9. and the false *Prophet* repenting will acknowledge this *Zech.* 13. 6. Thus was I *wounded* in the house of my *friends.*

Truth. But doth Master *Cotton* indeed believe that not only *publike Magistrates*, but also each private *father* and *mother* (as that place of *Zechary*, literately, taken carries it) must now in the dayes of the *Gospel* wound and pierce; yea run through and *kill* their *Son* the false *Prophet?* would he justifie a parent so practising though it were in the neglect of the publike *Magistrate*, who happily may be of the same *Religion* with the false prophet? Will not this *doctrine* reach & extend to the pulling down *deposing* and *killing* of all such *governors* and *governments*, which *God* in his gracious *providence* hath set up amongst all peoples in all parts and *dominions* of the world, yea and harden the heart of *Pharoah*, the very *Pope* himself, in his *King-killing* and *State-killing doctrine?*

The killing of the false Prophet.

Zech. 13. 6. *examined.*

Peace. If ever Master *Cotton* wake in this point, he will tell all the *world*, that it is more *Gospel-like* that *Parents*, *Brethren*, *Fathers*, *Friends*, impartially fulfill this of *Zechary* 13. and *Deut.* 13. spiritually, in the friendly wounding, yea and zealous slaying by the two-edged *sword* of the *Spirit* of *God*, which is the *word* of *God* comming forth of the *mouth* of *Christ Jesus*, *Ephes.* 5. *Revel.* 1.

Truth. And it is most true (as Master *Cotton* saith) that the *judgements* of *God*, legally executed, or more terribly poured forth in the vials of *sword*, *plague*, and *famine*, they are as heavenly *lights* shining out from the *Father* of *lights*, teaching the inhabitants of the world *righteousness*.

Esa. 26. & Hos. 6. 2. *examined.*

Yea the *creation* it self, or each *creature*, are as *candles* and *glasses* to light and shew us the *invisible God* and *creator*: but yet these are not the *ordinances* of *Christ Jesus* given to his *church*. These are not the *Preachings* of the *word*, and the opening of the *mysteries* of salvation, which give *light* and understanding to the simple, and convert the soul: These are not that marvailous *light* unto which the *call* of *Christ Jesus*, in the

preaching of the *word*, had brought the *Saints* unto whom *Peter* writes: The weapons of *Pauls* fighting, whereby to batter down the high *thoughts* and *imaginations* of the sons of men against the *sons* of *God*, were of another nature, 3 *Cor.* 10. and his *directions* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, how to deal with *Hereticks*, and *Gainsayers* were never heard of to be such, till the *son* of man, and *son* of *perdition*, brought forth such bloody *weapons* and bloody *doctrines* in the affaires of *Christ Jesus*.

2 Cor. 10.

Examination of CHAP. X.

Peace.

IN this passage Master *Cotton* will subscribe to the whole matter, saying, This Chapter may stand for us without impeachment, and yet in this Chapter is reported the *persecution*, which both *rightly informed* and *erroneous consciences* suffer, and the blind *estate* of such blinde *guides* and blinded *consciences* who so *preach* and *practice*.

Truth. These first words [*We approve no persecution for conscience*] fight against his whole endeavour in this book, which is to set up the *civil throne* and *judgement-seat* over the *consciences* and *soules* of men, under the pretence of preserving the *church* of *Christ* pure, and punishing the evil of *heresie*, *blasphemy* &c.

2. They fight against their *fellows*, which follow, thus [unless the *conscience* be convinced of the *error* and *perniciousness* thereof] which is all one, as to say, We hold no man is to be *persecuted* for his *conscience*, unless it be for a *conscience* which we judge dangerous to our *Religion*. No man is to be persecuted for his *conscience*, unless we judge that we have *convinced* or conquered his *conscience*.

Tis true, all *error* is pernicious many wayes to *Gods glory*, to a mans owne *soul*, to other mens *souls* and *consciences*: yet I understand Master *Cotton* to say, Except we judge the *error* to be so and so mischievous. Tis true, there is a *self-conviction* which some *consciences* smite and wound themselves with? But to submit

conviction of conscience.

mit these *consciences* to the *tribunal* of the *civil Magistrate*, and *Powers* of the *World*, how can Master *Cotton* do this, and yet say no man is to be persecuted for his *conscience*?

Peace. Alas, how many *thousands* and *millions* of *consciences* have been persecuted in all *Ages* and *Times* in a *judicial way*, and how have their *Judges* pretended *victory* and *triumph*, crying out, We have *convinced* (or conquered) them, and yet are they *obstinate*.

Truth. Hence came that hellish *Proverb*, That nothing was more *obstinate* then a *Christian*: under which *cloud* of *reproach* hath been overwhelmed the most faithful, zealous, and constant *witnesses* of *Jesus Christ*.

Peace. But saith Master *Cotton*, Some blinded *consciences* are so judicially punished by *God*, as his in *Ireland* that burnt his *child* in imitation of *Abraham*.

Truth. In such *cases* it may be truly said, the *Magistrate* beares not the *sword* in vaine, either for the *punishing* or *preventing* of such *sins*, whether *uncleanness*, *theft*, *cruelty*, or *persecution*.

The violation of civil peace though out of conscience, to be punished.

And therefore such *consciences* as are so hardned by *Gods judgement*, as to smite their fellow-servants, under the pretence of *zeale* and *conscience* (as in the instance of *Saul* his *zeal* for the children of *Israel* against the *Gibeonites*) they ought to be *suppreſt* and *punished*, to be restrained and prevented.

And hence is seasonable the saying of *King Iames*, that he desired to be secured of the *Papists* concerning *civil obedience*, which *security*, by wholesome *Lawes*, and other wayes: according to the *wisdome* of each *state*, each *state* is to provide for it self even against the *delusions* of hardned *consciences*, in any *attempt* which meerly concernes the *civil state* and *Commonweale*.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. XI.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master *Cotton* takes himself wronged, that he should be thought to lay this down, as a *conclusion*, viz. that it is not lawful to persecute *Iesus Christ*.

Truth. What difference is there in saying, It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience rightly* informed, and to say, It is not lawful to persecute *Christ Iesus*; was it not all one in effect for *Christ* to say, Take up thy *bed* and walk, as to say, Thy sins are *forgiven* thee?

Peace. He adds, It is no matter of wonder to lay down the *principles* of *Religion* for a *proof*, as *Gamaliel* did.

Truth. Who sees not a vast difference between Master *Cottons* and *Gamaliels* speech? *Gamaliel* speaks of that particular *controversie* concerning *Christs person* and *profession*, which the *Iews* so gainsayed and persecuted. *Gamaliel* fitly aggravateth their *opposition* by the danger of their *course*, if possibly it might prove to be the *Truth*, which they persecuted. Master *Cotton* is to lay down not a *particular answer*, but *general conclusions*; and notwithstanding that in the *course* of his *Book* he maintaines such and such *persecution*, yet he layes this down as his first *conclusion*: "It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience* rightly informed, that is, *Christ Iesus* in his *Truths* and *Servants*; and that, I say never *persecutor* professed to do without a *Maske* or covering.

An over-ruling finger of God, ordering Master Cotton to alleadge Gamaliel, sure he had forgotten Master John Goodwins excellent labour in his Θεομαχία or fighting against God.

Peace. What of that saith Master *Cotton*, for although they do not *persecute Christ* as *Christ*, yet they do it, and it is no matter of *wonder* to tell them as *Christ* tells *Paul*, It is not lawful for them so to do.

Truth. Doubtless whatever *persecutors* profess, and what *Apologies* soever they make in all the particular cases for which *Gods servants* are persecuted; yet the *Saints* of *God* have dealt faithfully to tell *Persecuters* that they persecute *Christ* himself, and to breath out the *fire* of *Gods judgements* against them, even out of their own *mouth*.

But what is this to a *conclusion* laid down? for so *Christ* laid not

not down his *expostulation* with *Paul* as a *conclusion*, as Master *Cotton* doth by way of *teaching*, but as a *conviction*, by way of *reproofe*.

Peace. Yet *persecutors* (saith he) have persecuted *Christ* as *Christ*; for the *Scribes* and *Pharises* said, This is the *heir*, come, let us kill him: and *Iulian* persecuted *Iesus* as *Iesus*: And if a *Christian* in *Turkie* shall seek to gaine a *Turke* to *Christianity*, they will persecute such a *Christian*, and in him *Iesus* as *Iesus*.

Truth. It is said *Acts* 3. that the *Iews* persecuted *Christ* out of *ignorance*; for though they had sufficient *knowledge* to convince them, yet did they not persecute *Christ* out of a clearely *convinced conscience*, for then it could not be out of *ignorance*. And yet it was sufficient, that so great a power of *Gods Spirit* appeared in the *evidence* of *Christs works*, as to make their *sin* to be against the *Spirit* of *God*: yet had they their *mask* and *covering* (as is evident:) For, this is not the true *Christ* or *Messiah*, say they, but a *deceiver*, a *witch*, working by the power of the *devil*, a *blasphemer*, a *seducer*, a *Traitor*, &c.

Christ Iesus never persecuted as Christ but as a deceiver, blasphemer, seduced.

Againe, although wretched *Iulian* persecuted the very name of *Christ* and *Iesus* (whom formerly he had acknowledged and professed) Yet was it still under a *mask* or *covering*, to wit, that he was not the true *Son* of *God*, nor his *worship* the *Truth*, but his *Roman gods* were true *&c.* And the same say the *Turkes* in persecuting *Christians*, and in them *Christ Iesus* as a *Prophet* inferiour to their onely great and true *Prophet Mahomet*.

And lastly, neither *Scribes*, nor *Pharisees*, nor *Iulian*, nor *Turkes*, did or do persecute *Christ Iesus* otherwise then as they were and are bound so to do by Master *Cottons doctrine*, as shall further appear, notwithstanding his *plea*, that such *Magistrates* must forbeare to punish untill they be better informed.

Peace. But let *tyrants* and *persecutors* profess what they will (saith Master *Cotton*,) yet this varieth not the *truth*, nor impeacheth the *wisdome* of the *conclusion*.

Truth. Sweet peace, how can I here chuse, but in the first place observe that great *mystery* of the *waking sleep* of the most precious servants of the most *high God*, in the affaires of his *worship*, and the *Kingdome* of his dear *Son*? Awake; for what fiery

Cant. 5. *I sleep yet my heart waketh.*

censurers

censures justly poureth forth this our excellent Adversarie against the oppressours of *conscience*, entituling them with the names of *tyrants* and *persecutors*, notwithstanding their vaine *professions*, *pretences*, *apologies* and *pleas* for their *tyranny* and *Bloodshed*? Againe, how fast asleep, in his so zealous pleading for the greatest *tyranny* in the *world* (throughout his whole book) though *painted* and *washed* over with faire *pretences* &c?

2. He granteth upon the point the *truth*, which was affirmed, and he denyed, to wit, that no *persecutor* of *Christ* ever persecuted him as the *Son* of *God*, as *Iesus*, but under some *mask* or covering, as thousands of black and bloody *clouds* of *persecuting witnesses* in this case most lamentably make it evident and apparent.

Peace. Master *Cottons* next *charge* is very heavy against the *discusser*, for exalting himself above *God* in the discerning of Master *Cottons* fellowship with *persecutors*, notwithstanding his *profession* against such *persecution*.

Truth. The Lord Jesus saw in the *Iews* such a *contrariety* between their *professions* and *practises* (even in this case of *persecution*) Mat. 23.

2. Himself in effect, but even now, said the same of all *persecutors*: | What ever pretences they make, saith he | and they will pretend great things of *love* to *Christ*, and kiss him ten thousand times, when *treasons* and *slaughters* are is in their courses. And will Master *Cotton* say that *Christ Iesus* exalted himself above *God* in spying out so great a *mystery*? It is no new thing, that Master *Cotton* should be apt to say with *David*, That man that hath done this thing shall die, not duely considering and pondering that our selves are *sons* of *blood*, and children of *death*, condemned by our own *mouth*, if the righteous *Iudge* of the whole world should deal severely with us.

A *deep mystery in persecution.*

Peace. But Master *Cotton* (for a close of this Chapter) complaines of his own suffering of bitter persecution, and the *Lord Iesus* in him, being unjustly slandered, except the discusser can prove, that any *doctrine* of his tendeth to persecute any of the *servants* of *Christ*.

Truth. Let a mans *doctrine* and *practise* be his *witnesses*, and let every soul judge in the fear of *God*, whether the *doctrine* of this

this *Book* maintaining such and such a *persecution* to be an holy *truth wash'd white* in the *blood* of the *Lamb*, agree not lamentably with all their *imprisonings*, *banishings* &c. inflicted upon so many several sorts of their own *countrimen*, *friends*, and *brethren* in the *wilderness*, for matter of *Religion* and *conscience*; amongst which the *Lord Jesus* will be heard at last to have said, Why persecutest thou *me*? why banishest and whippest thou *me*, &c?

2. Will not all persecuting prelates, *Popes* &c. take heart from hence (according to their several *religions* and *consciences*) to persecute the *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *seducer*, &c. although they all will say with Master *Cotton*, It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience* rightly informed, that is, *Christ Jesus* in his *truths* or *servants*?

Peace. But the discusser (saith Master *Cotton*) is a bitter *persecutor*, in slandering him, and *Christ Jesus* in him, for a *persecutor*.

Truth. I see not but Master *Cotton* (though of *Davids spirit*) may be guilty of *Sauls* lamentable *complaint*, that *David* persecuted him, and that he could finde none to *pity* him? Who knows not that all and our own Popish *Bishops* in *Queen Maries*, yea and of late times our Protestant *Bishops* against the *non-conformists* have been wont to cry out, what bitter *persecution* themselves have suffered from the *slanderous censures* and *reproaches* of the *servants* of *Christ Jesus* against them? Who yet have shot no other *arrowes* at them but the faithful *declarations* and *discoveries* of *Gods* holy truth, and the evil of the *opposing* and *persecuting* of it, and the *professors* of it? And how neer will Master *Cotton* be found to close with that late bloody *Woelfe* (so far as his *chaine* reached) *Bishop Land*, who being an *instrument* of the bloody hunting and *worrying* of those three famous *witnesses* of *Christ*, Master *Prin*, Master *Bastwick*, and Master *Burton*; yet at their publike sentence in the *Star-chamber*, he lamentably *complained* that those poor *Lambs* did bark and bite him with unjust *reproaches*, slanders, *&c*,

Wolves complaining that the sheep persecute them.

Examination of CHAP. XII.

Peace.

MAster *Cotton* here first complaineth that his words are *misreported* concerning the *punishment* of the *heretick* after once or twice *admonition*, *Tit.* 3. 10.

Truth. I desire that others may judge in three *particulars.*

First, whether the *summ* and *pith* of the *words* are not rendred.

2. Whether this *Titus* 3. was brought by Master *Cotton* to prove (as is now pretended) that an *Heretick* might be persecuted with an *excommunication* after once or twice *admonition*: or whether the *question* be not of another kind of *persecution.*

3. Whether that *Tit.* 3.11. do hold forth, That although a man be a *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *seducer*, he may be punished with a *Civil* or *corporeal punishment*, yea though he sin against his own *conscience.*

I add a fourth, whether indeed (as Master *Cotton* intimates) the *discusser* makes this *Tit.* 3, a *refuge* for *hereticks.* Great *sound* and noise makes this word *heretick*, *heretick.* I dare appeal to Master *Cottons conscience* and *memory*, whether the reading of *histories*, and the *experience* of time will not evince and prove, that *hereticks* and *Christians*, *hereticks* and *Martyrs* (or witnesses of *Christ*) have not been the same *men* and *women*: I say againe, that such as have been *ordinarily* and *commonly* accounted and persecuted for *hereticks*, have been the servants of the most *high God*, and the *followers* and *witnesses* of the *Lord Jesus Christ.*

The blood of the souls under the Altar is a sealed mystery, Rev. 6.

Peace. You know (*dear truth*) the *catalogues* of *heresies* and *hereticks* extant, &c.

Truth. Grant it (sweet peace) that some in all times have suffered for *erroneous conscience.* Yet I dare challenge the father of *lies* himself to disprove this assertion, That the most of such (beyond all comparison) that have ever suffered in this *world* for *hereticks*, have been the disciples and followers of *Christ Jesus.* And oh that not only the *Lions*, *Leopards*, the *Bears*, *Woolves*, and *Tygers*

A challenge to the devil himself.

gers (the bloody *Pharoahs*, *Sauls*, *Herods*, *Neroes*, *Popes*, *Prelates* &c.) should fetch from hence, their persecuting *arrows* and *commissions*, but that even the *Davids*, the men after *Gods* own *heart*, the *Asa's* (whose *hearts* are *perfect* with God) that such as are the *sheep* and *lambs* of *Christ*, should be so monstrously changed and transformed into *lyons*, *beares*, &c. yea and should flie to this holy Scripture of *Tit.* 3. for this their *unnatural* and monstrous change and *transformation*.

All Antichristian hunters or persecutors make Tit. 3. *their den and Fortress.*

Examination of CHAP. XIII.

Peace.

IN this 13 Chapter, dear truth, you argue the great mistake of the *world* in their common clamour, an *heretick*, an *heretick*, a person *obstinate* in *fundamentals*; and you prove that this word *heretick* intends no more then a person *obstinate* against the *admonitions* of the Lord, although in lesser *matters*: upon this Master *Cotton* concludes in this 13 Chapter, that the discusser gives a larger *allowance* for proceeding against *erroneous* persons then himself did.

Tit. 3. *Discussed.*

Truth. I must deny that the discusser gives a larger *allowance* then Master *Cotton*, or any at all, that the *hereticks* or *obstinate person* should be dealt withall by the Civil *Magistrates* of *Crete*, but onely by the spiritual power of the *Lord Jesus*.

1. For first, What though I granted that an *obstinate person*, contending about *Genealogies*, ought not to be suffered, but after once or twice *admonition* ought to be *rejected*? And,

2. What though I grant that after such faithful *admonitions* once or twice, he cannot but be condemned of himself? yet according to his third answer, how will it appear that I grant, that an *heretick* is rightly defined to be one *obstinate* in *fundamentals*, when I maintaine, and Master *Cotton* seemeth to grant, that the *heretick* may be such an one as is *obstinate* in *lesser points* and *practises*?

3. Further, let the word ἐξεστραμμένος imply an overturning, yet will it not follow, that therefore an *heretick* is he, who is wilfully

fully obſtinate, in holding forth ſuch *errors* as ſubvert the *foundation* of the *Chriſtian religion*: For however that Maſter *Cotton* ſaith, That ſuch *diſputes* may tend to overthrow *Chriſtianity*, yet that is but in remote *poſſibility*, as the prick of a *finger* may kill the *heart*, if it ranckle and feſter, and ſo go on from *member* to *member* without means applyed: yet this cannot be ſaid to be a mortal *wound* at firſt. So is it in the *body* of Chriſt.

Peace. The Apoſtle diſcourſing of meats and drinks, of eating and drinking with *offence*, calls an offenſive eating a *deſtruction* of the *ſoul* for which *Chriſt died*: and yet I ſuppoſe he will not ſay that that *difference* was a *fundamental difference*.

Truth. It hath been a groſs and barbarous miſtake of the *monopolizers* of *learning*, both *divine* and *humane*. The Clergy both of *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant factions* and *worſhips*: And how many are the thouſands of millions of *abuſes*, *prophanations* and *blaſphemies* againſt the *God of heaven* in all (the *Antichriſtian*) *Chriſtendome*, in all *preachings*, *writings*, *proceedings*, and *proceſſes*, touching this name *heretick*, *hereſie*, &c? By the impartial *cenſure* of the *Lord*, he is an *heretick*, who wilfully perſiſts in any ſinful *doctrine* againſt the due *admonitions* of the *Lord*; for every *bit* and *parcell* of *leaven* is to be purged out of the houſe of *God*, as well as the greater and *fundamentall* lumps.

The horrible abuſing and profaning of that word Heretick. Great ſins of Gods own children.

Examination of CHAP. XIV.

Peace.

IT is a falſhood (ſaith Maſter *Cotton*) that I call the ſlight *liſtnings* of *Gods* people to the *checks* of their *conſciences*, their ſinning againſt their *conſcience*: for I ſpeak not (ſaith he) of the ſinning of *Gods* people againſt *conſcience*, but of an *heretick* ſubverted, much leſs do I call their *ſlight liſtening* to *conſcience* an *heretical* ſinning againſt *conſcience*, leaſt of all do I ſay, that for *ſlight liſtening* to the *checks* of *conſcience*, he may lawfully be perſecuted as for ſinning againſt his *conſcience*. And he adds this *gall* to the former *vinegar*, Thus men that have time and *leaſure* at will, ſet up *images* of *clouts*, and then ſhoot at them.

Truth.

Truth. Master *Cotton*, elsewhere, granteth that *Gods children* may (through passion, *&c.*) be carried on to despise *admonition*, and may be *excommunicated*, and if so, how can they refusing of *Christs admonition* in the *church*, be excused from sinning against the self-*condemning* of themselves? For if a *child* of *God* may possibly be *excommunicated* for *obstinacy* in some *passion*, *temptations* &c. then may he be this *heretick* or *wilfull* man in this *Tit.* 3.

Tis true, that in an houre of great *temptations*, *Gods* people may sin against clear *light* of *conviction*, and *sentence* of *conscience*, as *David* and *Peter* &c. But (as I conceive) the holy Spirit of God in this 3 of *Titus* intends not such a *clearness* of *self-condemning*, but either that the *admonitions* of the *Lord* are so evident and clear, that either if he in his own *conscience* before *God* improved them seriously and duely, they would clear up the *truth* of *God* unto him: or else the *checks* of *conscience* are such as are recorded to have been (*Cant.* 5.) in the *members* of *Christ*, in the *Church* of the *Jews*; and Master *Cotton* cannot render a sufficient reason, why they may not also be found in the members of the *churches* of the *Christians*.

Peace. I perceive indeed (dear truth) the wonderful effects of a *strange tongue*, in the *church* of *Christ*: The noise and sound of a *Greek* word *heretick*, in poor *English* eares, hath begot a *conclusion* that a person refusing once or twice *admonition* for some point of *Doctrine*, is such an *heretick* or *monster*, that he cannot possibly be a child of *God*; whereas Master *Cotton* granting that a child of *God* may possibly refuse once and twice *admonition*, and so come to be *excommunicated*; What doth he then in plaine *English*, but say, that a child of *God* may be obstinate to *excommunication* or *rejection* (that is in Greek) be an *heretick*? And what is this but contrary to his former *Assertion*, that a childe of *God* cannot be heretically obstinate to *rejection*, &c.

A child of God may possibly be an Heretick.

Truth. Questionless no child of *God*, but in temptation, may sin *heretically*, that is, *obstinately* upon once or twice *admonition*, against the checks and whisperings of his own *conscience*, and against that evidence of *light*, which (afterward) he wondreth how he could despise: and this rejecting or casting forth of the visible *society* of *Christ Jesus* and his servants, is not for *destruction*,

on but *humiliation* and *salvation*, in the day of the *Lord Jesus*.

Peace. I judge, that no son of *peace*, in a sober and peaceable minde, can judge, as Master *Cotton* here doth, this to be an *image* of clouts.

Truth. Nor can I learn, that the discusser so abounded in time and *leasure*, as to make such *images* (as Master *Cotton* insinuates.) It is not unknown to many witnesses in *Plymmouth*, *Salem*, and *Providence*, that the discussers time hath not been spent (though as much as any others whosoever) altogether in spiritual labours, and publike *exercise* of the *word*, but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the How, at the Oare, for bread; yea and I can tell, that when these *discussions* were prepared for publike in *London*, his time was eaten up in attendance upon the service of the *Parliament* and *City*, for the supply of the poor of the *City* with *wood* (during the stop of coale from *Newcastle*, and the mutinies of the poor for firing.) Tis true, he might have run the rode of *preferment*, as well in *Old* as *New England*, and have had the leasure and time of such who eat and drink with the *drunken*, and smite with the fist of *wickedness* their fellow servants; But *God* is a most holy witness, that these *meditations* were fitted for publike view in change of *roomes* and *corners*, yea sometimes (upon occasion of travel in the *country*, concering that business of *fuell*) in variety of strange *houses*, sometimes in the *fields*, in the midst of *travel*; where he hath been forced to gather and scatter his loose *thoughts* and *papers*.

For which service through the hurry of the times, and the necessity of his departure, he lost his recompence to this day. The straights of the discussers time in composing of the Bloody Tenent.

Peace. Well (notwithstanding Master *Cottons* bitter censure) some persons of no contemptible *note* nor *intelligence*, have by letters from *England*, informed the *discusser*, that these *Images* of *clouts* it hath pleased God to make use of to stop no small *leakes* of *persecution*, that lately began to flow in upon dissenting *consciences*,* and (amongst others) to Master *Cottons* own, and to the *peace* and *quietness* of the *Independants*, which they have so long, and so wonderfully enjoyed.

** I prejudice not the free and comfortable supplies of temporals, which the Saints ought to make for their Teachers in spirituals; only I affirme, that such as will not teach without money, they must and do beg or steal.*

Truth. I will end this Chapter, with that famous *distinction* of the Lord *Jesus*; * *Digging*, *Begging*, *Stealing*, are the three wayes by the which all that pretend to be *Christs Stewards* are maintained. They that cannot *digg*, can *begg* the glittering pre-

fer-

ferments of this present evil world, and the wages of *Balaam*. They that cannot *dig* can *steal*, in the wayes of *fraud*, *oppression*, *extortion*, &c. But by the mercy of the most *high*, the *discusser* hath been inabled to get his bread by as hard *digging*, as most *diggers* in New or old *England* have been put to: and let all men judge, whether such as can *beg* or *steal* and cannot *dig*; or such as chuse neither to *beg* nor *steal*, but *dig*, have most time and leasure to make such *images* of clouts, *&c.*

Christ Jesus his distinction of Diggers, Beggers, Stealers.

Examination of CHAP. XV.

Peace.

IN this passage (Dear Truth) we hear a sound of *Agreement*; Master *Cotton* consenteth, that this third of *Titus* evinceth no *civil rejection*, but *excommunication* out of the *Church* of *Christ*; and he saith, That no sillable of his *conclusion* lookes at more.

And whereas it might be objected, That *excommunication* cannot fitly be called *persecution*: he answers yes, and quotes *Luk.* 21.12. *John* 16. 2.

Truth. Were it not for the fierce hands of angry *Esaus*, this shril sweet voice might pass for *Jacobs*. What ever Master *Cottons* ends and intentions were (of which I cannot but judge chatitably) the eye of *God* alone discerneth, but for Master *Cottons words*, sillables and *arguings*, let all impartial *readers* and *consciences* judge of these four *considerations*.

First, Whether the word *persecution*, do not in all proper and ordinary speech signifie *penal* and *corporal* punishment and affliction.

2. Whether the point in question agitated between the *prisoner* and Master *Cotton* throughout the book, concern not only *penal* and *corporal* aflict̃ion: and whether it can be imagined, that the *prisoner*, or the *discusser*, or any that plead for the *purity* of *Christs ordinances*, could ever plead against *excommunicating* an *heretick* or wilful offendor out of the *Church* of *Christ*: And although the Scriptures by Master *Cotton* quoted, do mention *excommu-*

Persecution, not properly, nor usually taken for any spiritual punishment.

communication, as an unjust oppression; yet they speak also of *corporal* afflictions, *imprisonments*, bringing before *judgement-seats*, and killing also.

3. It could be told in what *countrey*, at a publike sentence of *banishment* of a certaine person, a text of Scripture, *Rom.*16.17. (parrallel with this of *Tit.*3.) was alleadged by the chief *judge* in *court* for a ground (not of *spiritual excommunication*, but) of *civil*, out of the *Commonweal.*

4. Were it not more for the name of *God*, for the honour of his *truth*, and the comfort of Master *Cotton*, plainely and ingenuously to acknowledge his misapplying of this holy *Scripture* of *Tit.* 3. then to cover it by so thin and poor a plea, *viz.* that he intends by *persecution*, *excommunication* out of the *Church* of *Christ*?

Examination of CHAP. XVI.

Peace.

MAster *Cotton* here grants a *toleration* to *Jews*, *Turkes*, *Pagans*, yea and *Antichristians*, with one exception, to wit, so that they continue not to seduce, *&c.*

Truth. But it must be remembred, that before and after he maintaines *persecution* against *Apostates*, *blasphemers*, and *idolatours*, and then who knows not how all these four sorts, *Jews*, *Turkes*, *Pagans*, and *Antichristians*, are full of *blasphemy* and *idolatry*? Now in case they seduce not; they are to be persecuted as *idolaters* and *blasphemers*, how then are they to be tolerated?

Peace. It could not be (had not this holy man been catcht with sipping at the bloody cup of the great *whore*) that Master *Cottons affirmations* and *doctrines* should thus quarrel among themselves.

But further, I see not the equality of his yoaking the *Oxe* and the *Asse* together, when he further coupleth *seducing* of people into *worship* of false *Gods*, *confidence* of a mans own *merit*, &c. (which are *spiritual matters*) with *seducing* into *seditious conspiracies* against the *lives* and *estates* of such Princes as

as will not submit their *conscience* to the *Bishop* of *Rome*.

Truth. Your observation (*dear peace*) is seasonable; the former are meer *Religious* and *spiritual*, the latter are meerly *civil*, against which the *civil state* is bound to defend it self with *civil weapons*.

Peace. In the next place Master *Cotton* chargeth the *discusser* with want of *reason*, *truth*, and *candor*, for observing how unfitly those Scriptures of *Phil.* 3. *Rom.* 14. are produced to prove a *tolleration* of lesser *errors*: And he affirmes, that he never intended, that what the *Churches* might not tolerate, the *Cities* might not, *&c.*

Truth. The point is *tolerating* or *persecuting* by the *civil state*; whatever therefore be Master *Cottons* intentions, it is apparant, unless the *Cities* and *Churches* of *Rome* and *Philippi* be confounded together (as commonly they are in *case* of *persecution*) I say it is then apparent that there is no Scripture brought for the *civil state* its *tolerating* of *points* of lesser moment, nor are these *Scriptures* brought to any purpose in hand, but prophaned.

Examination of Phil. 3. and Rom. 14.

Peace. But observe his *Argument*, The *civil state* tollerates petty *theeves* and *lyers*, to live in *Towns*, *Cities* &c.

Truth. No well ordered *State* or *City* can suffer petty *Theeves* and *lyers* without some *punishment*, and we know how severely in the *State* of *England*, even *theeves* have been punished even with *death* it self; but Master *Cotton* is against such *cruelty*, for he pleades for tollerating of lesser errors, even in points of *Religion* and *worship*.

Very severe, but not Christian, more then Judaical punishment of Theeves in England.

2. If *tollerating* of lesser *errours* be granted upon this ground, *viz.* till *God* may be pleased to manifest his *truth*; is not the same a ground for *tollerating* of greater, as the holy *spirit* of *God* argues 2 *Tim.* 2. trying if *God* may be pleased to give *repentance*?

Peace. Yea but (saith he) the greater will *infect*, and so is more dangerous, and the *tolleration* is the more unmerciful and cruel to the souls of many.

Truth. Lyars and *Theeves* infect also, even the *Civil state*, and a little *leaven* will leaven the whole lumpe; and therefore as the *Commonweal* ought not upon that ground to tollerate petty

theeves and *lyars*, so hath *Christ Jesus* provided in his holy *kingdom* and City against lesser evils, and upon this ground, that a little *leaven* will leaven the whole lumpe. But yet *Christ Jesus* hath not spoken (where he gives command for this thing to the *Corinthians* or *Galatians*, that such persons so leavened, should (together with their being put out of the *Church* for obstinacy in a little *leaven*) be put out of the *world* or *civil state*: (The one (the *Church* (being his *Garden*, the other, the *Commonweal*, being the high wayes, *Field &c.* the proper place for men as men to abide in.)

Examination of CHAP. XVII.

Peace.

CConcerning the holding forth of errour with an arrogant and boysterous *spirit* to the disturbance of *civil* peace, Master *Cotton* moderates the matter, that he would not have such put to *death*, unless the *civil peace* be destroyed, to the *destruction* of the *lives* and *souls* of men.

The civil and spiritual life confounded.

Truth. I cannot but here first observe the confounding of *heaven* and earth together, the *Church* and the *world*, *lives* and *souls*, &c. as if all were of *one nature*.

2. Neither blessed *Paul*, nor I, need to be accused of *cruelty* in that grant of *Paul*, if alleadged (*Acts* 25.) for there will not be found ought but a willingness to bear a righteous sentence of *death* in some crimes committed against the *civil state*.

3. Master *Cotton* may here observe, how justly (as he speaks of the *heretick*) he condemnes himself, for it is too bloody a *Tenent* (saith he) that every man that holdeth *errour* in a boysterous and arrogant way, to the disturbance of *civil peace*, ought to be punished with *death*. Is not this the whole scope of his discourse from *Deut.* 13. and other abrogated repealed *laws*, to prove (what was just and righteous in the land of *Israel*) so bloody a *Tenent* and course to be inforced in all *Nations* all the world over?

Peace. Master *Cotton* excepteth against that speech [But if the matter

matter be of a *spiritual* or *divine nature.* | There is no error, saith he, can be of *divine nature*, though it may be *spiritual.*

Truth. Master *Cotton* may hear *Solomon* here saying unto him, Be not overwise *&c.*

For first, the words are not, If the *errour* be of a *divine nature*, but if the *matter* (that is, the *controversie, cause* &c.) be of a *spiritual* or *divine* nature: which *distinction* between *humane* and *divine* things, I conceive is the same with that of *wisdome* it self dividing between *God* and *Cæsar*: Give to *God*, &c. And so, though no errour be of a *spiritual* or *divine* nature (taking the words in their highth) yet the *matter* in question may be of some *spiritual* or *divine* consideration, belonging to *God*, and his *worship*; and not concerning the *Commonweal* or *Civil state* of *men*, which belong to *Cæsars* care. *God & Cæsar.*

2. Taking spiritual as it is used sometimes in the holy *Scripture* as opposite to *flesh* and *blood*, I see no ground for that distinction, between *spiritual* and *divine*: *God* is a *spirit*, and the *spiritual* man discerneth All things: In such places and their like (to my understanding) *spiritual* and *divine* are the same thing.

Peace. But I marvel at the next passage: how can Master *Cotton* with any colour of *reason* or *charity* conceive the *discusser* so reasonless and senceless, as to intend by these words, | Such onely break the *Cities* or *Kingdomes peace*, as call for *prison*, and *sword* against *hereticks*? | as if (as Master *Cotton* infers and saith) that *murtherers, seditious* persons, *rebels, traitors*, were none of them such, *viz. Peace-breakers.*

Truth. This word [onely] can onely have a faire respect to such as are charged by their opinions of *Religion* and *worship* to break the *Peace* of the *Commonweale*, who (of what conscience soever they are) may freely enjoy their *conscience* and *worship* (either of many and false *Gods*, or of the true *God* in a false way) and yet not be guilty of the breach of *civil peace*, but onely they (I say they onely in this *consideration*) who by their *doctrine* and *practice* cry out for *prison*, and *fire* and *sword*, against *hereticks*, &c. *The great peace breakers.*

Peace. As the *devil* appeared an *Angel* of *light* in *Samuels* mantle, So *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prage*, are declared for *devils* with the pictured *devils* upon their heads; and under this cloud of *heresie* and black name of *hereticks*, most commonly have

suffered in all ages the true *messengers* of *Christ Jesus*. Thus cryed they out, *Acts* 17. These are they that have turned the *world upside* down, and are come hither also; and thus did they set the *City* all on an uproare. And *Acts* 19. not the *worshippers* of *Christ* fill'd the whole *City* with *confusion*, but the worshipers of *Diana*, who filled the *heavens* with that *Bedlam Outcry* of two houres continuance, Great is *Diana* of the *Ephesians*.

English Diana's.

Truth. With as little *reason* and *peaceableness* of *spirit* hath our *English Nation* used to cry *Great* is the *Church* of *Rome*, *Great* is our holy *Father* the *Pope*, *Great* the *Mass*, *Great* the *Virgin Mary*, *Great* the *General Councels*, &c. And in later times, Great the *Church* of *England*, *Great* the *Christian Magistrate*, *Great* the *Ministery* and *Bishops* of *England*, *Great* the *swearing* and *covenant* of the people, *&c.* and such as dissent from us in these *points* and *practices*, persecute them as *hereticks*, and *disturbers* of the *common civil peace*.

Peace. In the rest of this Chapter, Master *Cotton* makes three *grants* with his *exceptions* annexed.

Truth. Please you (*dear peace*) to mention them in one, and accordingly I shall weigh them in the *balance* together.

Peace. 1. Saith he, The many *causes* which the *discusser* before wrote of, are all of them allowed, but none of them concern holding forth of *errors*, which is the point in hand.

Gross partiality to private interests.

2. Saith he, It is easily granted that *they* do break the *Cities* or *kingdoms peace*, who cry out for *prisons* and *swords* against such who cross their *judgement* or *practice* in *religion*, to wit, saith he, unless their *religion* be of *God*, and the crossing of it be such as destroyeth and *subverteth* the *Religion* of *God*.

3. It is also easily granted (saith he) that many complaine most who are most in fault themselves.

Truth. To these three I may answer thus in one. The *Mystery* of *preaching* or holding forth the witness of the *Truth* of *Jesus*; is interpreted by many to be the *Mystery* of the first seal, the *white horse*; and the being *persecuted* or slaughtered for the word of *God* and testimony of *Jesus*, to be the *Mystery* of the third *seal*, where the souls under the *Altar* cry to the *Lord* for *vengeance* against their *persecutors*. These *mysteries* are sealed up, and they are the *Lords letters*, not to be opened and read by every one

one, but (as ſealed *letters* be) by ſuch to whom they are directed.

Peace. It follows therefore, that in the midſt of all the cries of *Iews*, *Pagans*, *Turkes*, and *Antichriſtians* [Our *Religion* is the *Religion* of *God*: You are an *heretick*, you are a *perſecutor*, We are true *Chriſtians*, we are *perſecuted*, &c.] that the hearts of *Gods* children muſt be comforted and ſtaid up with the ſight of this *Myſtery*. And doubtleſs it is moſt commonly (though not alwayes) true, that the impriſoned, fined, whipt, baniſhed, hanged, burned, *&c.* in point of *Religion*, have been ſo inhumanely oppreſſed for the word of *God* and the *Teſtimony* of *Ieſus*.

Our own *Chronicles*, *Records* of *England*, and bleſſed Maſter *Fox* will in part evidence to us, that ſcarce a *King* or *Queen* of *England* hath paſt ſince *Richard* the ſecond his time, but the *blood* of the *witneſſes* of *Ieſus* more or leſs hath been ſpilt in their *Raignes*, as the blood of *Hereticks*, *Schiſmaticks* &c. and but few drops of the blood of any *Heretick* indeed have faln to the ground.

England in all Ages guilty of much perſecution.

Truth. The *diſcuſſer* therefore humbly (to my knowledge) deſireth according to Maſter *Cottons* wiſh to reflect upon his own way, and humbly to beg of God two things for himſelf, and all in any meaſure *cenſured* and *perſecuted* as *hereticks*.

Two ſeaſonable petitions of any perſecuted.

Firſt, *Ioſephs innocency*, *purity*, *chaſtity*, in all thoſe *points* and *queſtions* wherein they are *charged* and *condemned unclean*.

Secondly, *Ieſephs patience* to bear the *accuſations*, *cenſures*, *impriſonments* &c. from the *tongues* and *hands* of them who are notoriouſly *unclean* and *guilty* before the *zealous* and *revenging eye* and hand of *God*.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. XVIII.

Peace.

MAny of the following leaves and Chapters (*dear truth*) are spent upon that great and heavenly *parable* of the *Tares*, a *knot* about which so many holy fingers dead and living, have been so laboriously exercised, all professing to unty yet some by seeming to *untie*, have tyed the *knot* the faster.

Truth. It is no wonder (*sweet peace*) to finde Master *Cotton* so intangled both in his *answers* and *replies* touching this Parable; for men of all sorts in former ages, have been so intangled before him: To which purpose, with thy patience I shall relate a notable passage recorded by that excellent *witness* (or Martyr) of *God*, Master *Fox* in his book of *Acts* and *Monuments*: tis this, In the story of Master *George Wisehart* (that famous *Scotch witness* of *Christ Iesus*) in the dayes of King *Henry* the eighth, there preached at the arraignment of the said *Wiseheart*, one *Iohn Winryme*, *subprior* of the *Abbey* of Saint *Andrews*, he discoursed on the Parable of the *Tares*, he interpreted the *Tares* to be *hereticks*; and yet contrary to this very Scripture (as Master *Fox* himself observeth, though elswhere himself also maintaining it the duty of the *civil Magistrate* to suppress *hereticks*) I say the said *Winryme* concludeth that *hereticks* ought not to be let alone until the harvest, but to be *suppreſt* by the power of the *civil Magistrate*: So that memorable it is that both the *Popish Prior*, and that truely *Christian Fox*, were intangled in *contradictions* to their own *writings* about the interpreting of this Heavenly Scripture.

The Parable of the Tares.

The Parable of Tares grosly abused.

Peace. O what cause therefore have all that follow *Iesus* to beg of *Iesus* (as the *Disciples* did) the blessed *Key* of *David* to unloose this holy *mistery*? In the entrance therefore of this *discourse*, the *discusser* observing Master *Cottons exposition* to be fallacious, and the *Tares* to be interpreted, either *persons*, or *doctrines*, or *practices*, he blames that Master *Cotton* gives no argument for proof of such an interpretation: Master *Cotton* replies.

First, Neither did the *Author* of the letter give *reason* for his *interpre-*

terpretation. 2. That they both gave *one interpretation.* For the *Author* of the *letter* said, that some expounded the *Wheat* and *Tares*, to signifie such as walk in *truth*, and such as walk in *lyes*: now are not (saith Master *Cotton*) *hypocrites* and some corrupt *doctrines* and *practices* coincident with such as walk in *lyes*, &c?

Truth. I answer, First it might be both their failing, not to strengthen their *interpretations* with some *light* and evidence from *Scripture* or *reason*, although the *Prisoners* failing the less, as being forced to write by *shifts* and *difficulties* in *prison*, and so the shorter, when Master *Cotton* had free *liberty* to inlarge and confirm without control, *&c.*

2. When the *prisoner* interprets the *Tares* to be such as *walk* in *lyes*, it will be found evident upon examination, that he meaneth such as manifestly, openly, visibly walk in the true *profession* of *Christianity*; and such as openly and visibly walk in the *lyes* of false and *Antichristian doctrine* and *worship.* That distinction of secret and open Hypocrisie is seasonable: *secret*, implies such a *dissimulation* as may lie hid under the true *outward profession* of *Christ Jesus*, as in *Judas*, *Simon Magus*, *Ananias* and *Sapphira* &c. Open *hypocrisie* implies the profession of the *man* of *sin*, sitting in the *Temple* of *God* (or over the *Temple* of *God*) pretending the *Name* of *Christ*, and yet apparantly and visibly, false and counterfeit, and but pretending, when such *pretences* and *shewes* are brought to the *Touchstone* of true *Christianity.*

Hypocrisie secret and open hypocrisie.

Peace. Your *observation* is true, as also a second, That these hypocritical *doctrines* and *practices* are to be tollerated to the end of the world, this he sets down in *general*, not instancing in particular what *doctrine* and *practises* are to be tollerated: and on the other hand, the whole drift of his *Booke* maintaineth, that such *persons*, *doctrines* or *practices*, that are *idolatrous*, or *blasphemous*, or *infectious*, are not to be *tollerated* or permitted at all; which *passages* to my understanding have not *harmony* among themselves: For what is all the whole *Religion* of every *Antichrist*, but a *Mass* or *Chaos* of *Hypocrisie*, *Idolatry*, *Heresie*, *Blasphemy*, *Poysons*? &c.

Besides, Master *Cotton* had dealt more plainly with this holy *Scripture*, if he had explained what he meant by such *doctrines* and

and *practises* [comming neer the *truth*] and set down the *bounds*, how neer as to make them *Tares*.

Truth. Dear Peace, Who knows not that the *weeds* of the *wilderness* come neer the *flowers* of the *Garden*, the *counterfeit* may come neer the *life*, and the false *mettal* the true *gold*? And though it be true that some *doctrines* and practices be not so *gross* as other, yet they differ but (as the *Scripture* speaks) as *whores* and *whoremongers*, amongst themselves; some are more *proper*, and *fine*, and *young*, and *painted*; some are *old*, *deformed* &c. And yet the *finest weeds*, *counterfeits* and *whores* are unsufferable in the *Garden*, in the *Commonweale*, *house*, and *bed* of *Christ*: Though yet in the *civil Commonweale*, the vilest *spiritual strumpet* may challenge a civil Being, if in *civil* things unreproveable.

Spiritual who edome in worship may and doth in all Nations subsist with Civil Beings, Relations,&c.

Examination of CHAP. XIX.

Peace.

BUt in this Chapter, Master *Cotton* in the issue granteth, that the *Tares* signifie *persons*, by *Christs* own interpretation: For [them that do *iniquity*] may seem to be an explanation of πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα, All *scandals*, that is, *persons* holding forth of *scandalous* and corrupt *doctrines* and *practices*, like unto true and sound.

Truth. Yet withall he chargeth the discusser with *lightness* and *inconstancy*, for endeavouring to prove that *corrupt doctrines* and *practices* are not to be tollerated, and yet, saith he, the *discusser* pleades that such *persons* ought to be tollerated. Whereas the discusser twice in this Chapter expresly distinguisheth between *toleration* in the *Church*, and *tolleration* in the *world*, and affirmeth, that although the *Church* of *Christ Jesus* cannot tollerate either *persons* or *practices* which are false and *Antichristian*, yet the *civil state*, the *world*, ought to tolerate and permit both.

And therefore Master *Cottons* inconsiderate charge of *contradiction* will not stick, because of those divers *respects* or *States*, the *spiritual* and *civil*, as it was no *contradiction* in *Christ Jesus*, to affirme that *Iohn Baptist* was *Elias*, when *Iohn* himself affirmeth, that he was not *Elias*: For in several respects the

Negative

Negative of *John*, and the Affirmative of *Jesus* were both true.

Examination of CHAP. XX.

Peace.

IN this passage (to my understanding) Master *Cotton* after much seeming *contestation* and *disagreement*, yet in conclusion he shakes hands and agrees with the *discusser* in the maine point in question.

Truth. Your *observation* reacheth home; for let it be granted, that the *Greek* word ζιζάνια should not signifie All *weeds* sprung up with the *wheat*, but one kind of weed, and that in special which Master *Cotton* saith *Dioscorides* describeth: Let it be granted to be the same with *Lolium*, and that there is a great *similitude* between the *Tares* and the *Wheat*, while they are in the blade (some of which particulars are *controversial*:) yet it no way opposeth that which the discusser maintaineth, to wit, the easinesse of discerning these *tares* to be *tares*, when they are grown up to blade and fruit. And therefore Master *Cotton* at the last, confesseth that even these *tares* (*unknown hypocrites*) (according to his own *exposition*) ought to be suffered in the *church* of *Christ* to the *harvest* or end of the *world*. *Of the Tares*

Peace. I cannot but wonder how Master *Cotton* should once imagine, that it might possibly stand with the *order*, *piety*, and *safety* of the *profession* of *Christ Jesus*, that such a *generation* of known *hypocrites* should be perpetually suffered.

Truth. Doubtless the *Lord Jesus* was not of Master *Cottons* minde, who so vehemently warned his *followers* to take heed of the *leaven* of *hypocrisie*. Beside, if known *hypocrites* may be suffered and not cast out, Why may not known *hypocrites* be taken in? And what is then become of the true *matter* of the *church*, to wit, true *living stones* of a *spiritual life* and *nature*, so far as outwardly can be discerned?

Peace. This *assertion* hath so foule a *representation*, that Master *Cotton* is forced to draw this *vaile* over, and therefore he adds, untill the *fruits* of *hypocrites* grow *notoriously scandalous*.

Truth. I cannot fathom how these two agree: First, known *hypocrites* may be tolerated untill the *worlds* end; 2. *Tolerated* no longer, then untill the *fruits* of the *hypocrisie* grow *notoriously scandalous:* For will not all *reason* and *experience* ask this *question*: How comes it that this *friend, subject,* and *Spouse* of *Christ* is now a known *dissembler, traitor, whore,* unless by some *scandalous fruits* so declaring and uncasing of them? If the shameful fruits of the unclean person, 1 *Cor.* 5. were sufficient to denominate him a *wicked person,* why were they not sufficient to warrant *Paul* to say, *Put away* therefore that *wicked* person from amongst you?

Peace. But let us mind the Scripture quoted: If (saith Master *Cotton*) foolish *Virgins* be cast out of the *church,* the *wise Virgins* may be found sometimes sleeping as well as they.

Of the wise and foolish Virgins.

Truth. Neither *good wheate,* nor *wise Virgins* are to be cast out of the *church* of *Christ,* while they appear to be so: yet since Master *Cotton* elsewhere grants, that a child of *God* (*good wheat, and a wise Virgin*) may so stand out against the *church of Christ* (in some passion) that he may be cast out, *&c.* How much more then ought the *tares* and *foolish Virgins* (while so appearing) be excluded?

2. If the *wise Virgins* be received into *heaven,* as the *foolish* shut out, will it not evidently follow (even the contrary to that for which Master *Cotton* alleadgeth this Scripture) to wit, That when *hypocrites* are discovered, they are to be *kept* out, and consequently to be *cast* out of the *church* of *Christ*? except Master *Cotton* will say, that the *kingdome* of *Christ* on *earth,* may receive and keep in her *bosome* such stinking *weedes,* declared so to be, which the *kingdome* of *Christ* in heaven abhors.

Who questions, but while the *hypocrisie* of these *foolish Virgins* lay hid in their empty *vessels,* that outwardly they appeared as *wise* as the *wise Virgins*? But when the *fruits* of their *hypocrisie* discovered them to be *fools,* how can Master *Cotton* (according to the truth as it is in *Jesus*) affirme, that *foolish Virgins* (*known hypocrites*) are to be kept in and not cast out of the *church* of *Christ* unto the end of the *world*?

Peace. O how contrary is this to the very *fundamentals, essence, nature* and *being* of a *church* or *Spouse* of *Christ Jesus,* which

which is (by the *confession* of *Papists* and *Protestants*) a *society* of *wise Virgins*, visibly *Saints*, holy and faithful persons, a *society* of such persons as outwardly profess to love *Christ Jesus* uprightly (*Cant.* 1.) and to be espoused to him, 1 *Cor.* 11.

Truth. Yea, and how contrary is this to the nature of *Christ Iesus*, whose *heart* is all one *fire* towards the *daughters* of *Ierusalem* (*Cant.* 4.) and how contrary to the *charge*, that great and solemn *charge* of the *Lord Iesus* to all his followers, to take heed of that *leaven* which is *hypocrisie*, which if suffered, will leaven the whole *lumpe*, and render the *garden* and *spouse* of *Christ* a filthy *dunghill* and *whore-house* of rotten and stinking *whores* and *hypocrites*.

No true church of Christ consisting of visible hypocrites.

Examination of CHAP. XXI.

Peace.

MAster *Cotton* here endeavors to prove (as many have done before) that the *Field* which the *Lord Iesus* interprets the *world*, was meant by him to be the *Church*, as he is said to love the *world*, *Iohn* 3. to be propitiation for the sins of the *world*, 1 *Ioh.* 2.

Truth. In these and many other places of like nature, it pleaseth the *Spirit* of *God* to set forth his *love* to *mankinde*, distinct from all other *creatures*: As also the *impartiality* of his *love*, calling his chosen out of all sorts of *sinners*, *mankinde* all the world over: and yet it cannot be denyed, but that the Scriptures speak frequently of the *world* and of the *church* in a far distinct and contrary *acceptation*. So, as when he nameth the *church*, it cannot signifie the *world*; and when the *world*, he cannot be said to intend the *church*, the *reasons* therefore on either side must be expended and weighed in the fear of *God*, why the *Field* here called by *Christ* the *world*, cannot be intended to be the *church* of *Christ*.

The field of the World.

Peace. Your *right distinguishing*, is a *right dividing* of the *word* of *Truth*; but (saith Master *Cotton*) it cannot be the *world* in proper signification; for which he aleadgeth three reasons.

First, Because there had been (saith he) no place for the servants wonder at the appearing of the *tares* verse 27. for what wonder that the *world* should be so full of *fornicators*,&c? Was it ever otherwise?

Truth. It is true, that the *world* lyeth in *wickedness*, and is full of *fornicators*, *idolaters* &c. and yet it was some thousands of yeers when the world was not full of *Christian*, that is, *anointed*, or *holy fornicators*, holy *idolaters* &c. That is indeed and truth *Antichristian*, and that alone is the point in question, about which this answer of Master *Cotton* hovers, but comes not neer it. This is indeed a most dreadful and *wonderful point* of the *wisdome*, *justice*, and *patience* of *God*, so to suffer so many *millions* of men and women, to arrogate to themselves the *name* and *profession* of the most *holy* living *God*, and his holy Son *Christ Iesus*, to be called *Christians*, *anointed* or holy, and yet upon the point to hate the *holiness*, *truth*, and spirit of *Christ Iesus*.

The mystery of Antichristians or false Christians.

Truth. This is doubtless to me (what ere Master *Cotton* imagines) a wonderful *mystery* in all *Ages* since these *tares* were first sown, to see, I say, so many *millions* of holy *idolaters*, holy *murtherers*, holy *whoremongers*, holy *theeves* &c.

The *blasphemy* of this is so wonderful and dreadful, that I cannot sufficien tly *wonder* at him that *wonders*, not how this comes to pass.

Truth. The like I answer to his second *Reason*, that it is true that we read not that ever any of the *Ministers* or *Prophets* of *Christ* ever essayed to pluck up all such *vicious* notorious persons out of the *world*, as they demanded concerning the *tares*, for then indeed as the *Spirit* implies, 1 *Cor.* 5. the whole state of the *world* would be overthrown; but yet this hinders not, but there may be a *desire* in *Gods servants* to pluck up this or that sect or sort of people, *Jews*, *Turks*, or *Antichristians*.

Peace. Dear Truth, you make me call to minde the desire of *Christs disciples*, that fire might descend from *heaven*, not to consume all *fornicators*, *idolaters*, all *cruel* and *unclean persons* out of the *world*, yet that *particular*, *unmercifull*, *superstitious Town* of the *Samaritans*, they desired that *fire* might come from *heaven* and consume them.

Truth. Indeed this *desire* of the *disciples* is no strange *desire*,

for

for what else do All they desire, which permit not in the *civil state*, any *Religion*, *worship* or *conscience* but their own? Nay far beyond that, were the whole *worlds neck* under their imperial *yoake* (the many *millions* of *millions* of *blasphemers*, and *idolaters* of all sorts) if they will not be convinced at their *word*, must be cut off from all *natural* and *civil* being in the world, by *Fire* and *Sword*.

Master Cotton knows not his own desire.

Peace. His third reason is, That the discusser reckoned up as paralel *goats* and *sheep*, *wheate* and *tares* (as generally, said he, others do) and he addeth, that in the purest *church* after the *ruine* of *Antichrist*, there shall be *goats* and *sheep*, *wise and foolish Virgins*, untill the coming of *Christ* to judgement, *Mat.* 25.

Truth. Although the discusser spake of that eternal *separation* between *wheat* and *tares* *sheep* and *goats* approaching; yet he never said, that the *tares* and *goats* signified *hypocrites* in the Church, which is the point in *question*: Nor dare I subscribe to that opinion, that after the *destruction* of *Antichrist*, when purest times of the *church* shall come, that there shall be such a mixt estate in the *church* of *Christ*, untill the *coming of Christ* to judgement.

For first, Although *goats* were clean for *food* and *sacrifice*, yet it is apparant, that as they are for the *left hand*, So they are visibly known by every child, where *goats* and *sheep* are kept. And to image that visible *hypocrites*, such as *tares*, *goats*, *unprofitable servants*, *foolish Virgins* &c. shall in a mixt way make up *Christs church*, and that in the purest times of the *church*, of which there are so many and wonderful *prophecies*, is to me not onely to frame a *church estate* point blank crois to the purity of those *churches*, but even to the first *Apostolical churches*, yea and against that *frame* of *church* estate in *New Englaud*, where Master *Cotton* hath professed (though now it is said the door is wider) against receiving in such members as are visibly *foolish Virgins*, *goats* &c.

Peace. Master *Cottons* second answer is, that if the Field be the *world*, as the *tares Antichristians* and false *Christians*, yet they were first sowa in the field of the *church*.

Truth. Not so: for although there might be many *infirmities* and *distempers*, yea some great *corruptious* in the first *Christian*

The first rise of Antichristians argued.

stian body the *church* of *Christ*; notwithstanding that *Antichrist* is an *Apostate*, yet it will not follow, that the *tares* were first sown in the true *church*, because *Sathan* might easily raise up some *professors* of the name of *Christ*, which the true church would never admit. And as *Sathan* might raise up *persons*, *congregations*, *worships*, which were not according to *Christ*; So might he easily raise up *churches*, *congregations* and *societies* of such *tares* with whom the *churches* of *Christ* might refuse society. So saith *John*, There are many *Antichrists*, whom yet we cannot well imagine that they were in the *churches* of the *Lord Jesus*.

There came false *Apostles* to the Church at *Ephesus*, but yet that *church* examined and found them *lyars*. And so long as the *churches* were watchful, those *tares* kept in the *world*. But when the *churches* began to be sleepy, the Tares might undiscerned creep into the *church*

This may be as well, as when *Apostates* fall off from the *church*, go out from it, because they were never of it: and also as well as that the *church* of *Christ* may drowzily neglect to purge out the old *leaven* of *persons* and things, which may soon overspread and over-run the whole *lumpe* and *garden* of the *church* of *Christ*, untill it be turned againe into one common field of the *world* together.

Peace. Master *Cottons* third answer is, That *Antichristians* must not be tolerated unto the end of the *world*, because *God* will put it into the heart of faithful *princes* to hate the *whore*; and after that, we read of a visible state of *New Jerusalem* before the end of the world, *Rev.* 20. 21, 22.

Truth. It is not said, that those *princes* that shall hate the whore shall be *faithful princes*: and since Master *Cotton* seems to hold that by way of *ordinance* (and so in *obedience*) the *Kings* of the *earth* shall with the sword destroy *Antichrist*, I desire his proof for any such prophecy. For,

1. It is not said, that *God* will put it into their hearts, to hate the *whore*. And we finde that they shall hate the *lambe*, as well as hate the *whore*. For they shall make war with the *lambe*, and the *lamb* shall overcome them, as comes to pass after the ruine of the whore, *Rev.* 19.

2. *Judgement* may be executed upon the whore by way of mutual

mutual *judgement* each upon others, when in the midst of their *spiritual whoredoms*, and *drunkenness* with the *Saints blood*, they shall fall out with the *whore* (as useth to be in *whoredome*) and turn their *whorish loves* into *outragious fury*; and the very description of their fury looks this way, for it is not the property of *sober* and *faithful* men (though repenting of their whoredoms) to make a *woman* naked (though a *whore*) and to eat her *flesh*, as it is said, those shall do. *The judgement of the great whore.*

But grant (as we most hopefully do) the *whores consumption* by the ten hornes of the *Beast*, and the flourishing of new *Jerusalem* upon the earth (*Rev.* 20. 21, 22.) before the end of the world (all which are great disputes among the people of *God*) yet I judge it necessary that two or three *queries* be satisfied for the further clearing of the holy minde of the *Lord* in this particular.

1. Whether (as some have and do argue) the end of the *world* in this Parable and other Scriptures do expresly and undeniably signifie the end of the world and *judgement*-day literally, and not some other mystical *period* of *time*, since the word Αἰὼν (usually translated *world*) is of various *signification*, and sometimes signifies an *Age*.

2. Whether those ten *Kings* which shall destroy the *whore*, shall be absolutely *Christian*, true *Saints*, *followers of Jesus* they and their Armies, or else remaining *Antichristian* hornes of the *Beast*, shall yet execute the *judgement* of *God* upon the great *whore*: as *Jehu* remaining both hypocritical aud idolatrous, yet dasht out the braines of that great whore *Iezabel*, and executed *judgement* upon *Baals Priests*: yea and even as *Henry* the eighth tumbled the *Pope* out of his *chaire* in *England*, and thousands of his Popelings with him, he suppreſt and threw the *whore Iezabel* the *church* of *Rome* out of *Englands* window, and yet continued to burn the *Saints* of *Iesus* upon his six Popish and *bloody Articles*.

3. Whether that mighty *Army* of *Gog* and *Magog*, which is mustered up after the thousand yeers raigne of *Christ*, be not in part made up of the ten hornes, even after the whore of *Romes consumption* (as before in *Henry* the eighth his case) which horns with their peoples. *Christ* will have yet to be tolerated as *Tares* in

the field of the *world*, though not in the Church of *Christ*.

Peace. What think you of Master *Cottons* grant, that the first fruits of *Antichristians* may be *tares* sown in the field of the *church*, which afterwards grow to be Briars and Thornes ?

Truth. I observe that to be *tares*, of *Antichristian worshippers*, and *briars* and *thornes* (*oppressers* and *persecutors*) are both of them of a false and *Antichristian* nature, which ought to be far from *imitation* of the *Rose* of *Sharon*, or the *Lily* of the *vallies*.

But 2. Are there no *tares*, that is, hypocrites, but in the *church*; and must all the *briars* and *thornes* (*oppressors* and *persecutors*, &c.) have no root from the wilde world, but from the *garden* of *Christs church* ?

Peace. Now whereas it was urged, that it stood not with the *wisdome* and *love* of *Christ*, interpreting this parable, and opening what the field was, to call the *field* the *world*, when he meant the *church*: Master *Cotton* answers, that *Paul* by the same wisdome useth the same *word*, 2 *Cor.* 5. God was in *Christ* reconciling the *world* unto himself.

Truth. *Paul* in using that figure of the *world* for all sorts of men in the *world*, doth not undertake to interpret a *Parable*, which before he had proposed unto (and at the request of) the *Corinthians*, as the *Lord Iesus* doth at the request of his *disciples*.

And where Master *Cotton* saith, that it is no more an improper speech to call the *church* the *world*, then to speak of *Christ* as dying for the *world*, when he dyed for the *church*.

Truth. I finde it not to be said, that *Christ* died for the *world*, but grant that it hath pleased the *Lord* in his most infinite *wisdome*, to cause the tearm of the *world* to be used in *various significations*; yet let any instance be given of any *Scripture*, wherein the *Lord* opposing the *church* to the world, the *wheat* to *tares*, doth not distinguish between the *church* redeemed out of the world, and the world it self, which is said to lye in *wickedness*, and to be such as for which Christ Jesus would not pray, *Iohn* 17.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. XXII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter was urged the *scope* of the *Lord Jesus*, to wit, to foretell the *Antichristian state* opposing the true *Christian church* and *worship*, as also to comfort and strengthen the *hearts* of his *followers*, against the *grievances* arising therefrom; and where it was urged that the *church* consisteth onely of good ground, and that the three sorts of Bad ground visibly so declared, are properly in the *world*, and not in the *church*, Master *Cotton* answers,

Christs Church by institution, properly consisting of good ground.

First, Did not *Christ* preach to all these sorts of *hearers* in the *church* of the *Jews*?

Truth. That *national church* of the *Iews*, in its first *visible constitution*, consisted onely of good ground. Now that the other three sorts of *hearers* were in the *church* of the *Iews*, it was an *accident* and *corruption*: when they grew incurable, and received not the *admonitions* of the *Lord*, by the *Lord Iesus* and his *servants*, preaching unto them, the Lord *cast* them out of his sight, destroyed that *nationall church*, and *established* the *Christian church*.

The nature of Jewish Church.

Now what is this to the permitting of known *hypocrites* in the *Christian church* to the worlds end? since that the proper seat of *known hypocrisie*, and of all other *wickedness*, is the world, which indeed properly consisteth of the three sorts of *Bad* ground, as the *church* and *Garden* of *Christ*, of the *honest* and *good ground*.

Peace. But further, If (saith Master *Cotton*) the children of the *church*-members be in the *church*, then they growing up to yeers, become some of them like the *high-way*, and some like the *stony*, and some like the *thorny* ground.

Truth. Admit the *Christian church* were constituted of the *natural seed* and *off-spring* (which yet Master *Cotton* knows will never be granted to him, and I believe will never be proved by him:) yet he knows, that upon the *discovery* of any such portion of *ground* in the *church*, the *church* is bound to admonish, and

upon *impenitency* (after *admonition*) to cast them into the *world*, the proper place of such kind of hearers and professors.

Peace. Master *Cotton* proceeds to a third answer, to wit, Though it be not the proper work of the *church* to bring up their own children to become the sincere people of *God*, And *Christ* hath given his Church and his *Gospel* preached to it, to lye like *leaven* in three pecks of meal, till all be leavened, *Mat.* 13. 31. And he hath given *Pastors* and *Teachers*, as well for the gathering of the *Saints*, as for the *edification* of the *Body* of *Christ*.

Truth. I answer, the proper work of the *Pastors* and *Teachers*, is to feed the *sheep* and *flock*, and not the Heards, the *wild Beasts* in the world. And although it is the duty of parents to bring up their children in the nurture and *fear* of the *Lord*; yet what if those children refuse to frequent the *Assemblies* of the Church, and what if those three sorts of *bad ground* or hearers will not come within the *bounds* of the *Pastors* and *Teachers* feeding; hath not the *Lord Iesus* appointed other Officers (in the same *Ephes.* 4.) for the gathering of the *Saints*, that is *sending* out of the Church of *Christ*, *Apostles*, or Messengers, to preach *Christ Iesus* to the three sorts of *bad ground*, to labour to turn them into *good* ground?

The nature of Christs true Apostles.

But alas, to salve up all this, the *civil* sword is commonly run for, to force all *sorts* of ground to come to *church*, instead of the sending forth (*Rom.* 10.) the *heavenly sowers*, according to the Ordinance of *Christ Iesus*.

Peace. But what say you to his fourth answer, *viz.* There is no such *Resemblance* between the *high-way-ground* and *good* ground, as between the *Tares* and the *wheate*, nor would the servants wonder at *Tares* in the *high-way*, nor ask about their plucking up.

Truth. I answer, Let the *high-way*, *stony*, and *thorny* ground be considered in their several *qualities* of *prophaneness*, *stoninesse* and *worldlinesse*, and all the *sons* of *men* throughout the whole *world* naturally are such; and tis no wonder, nor would the *servants* of Christ be so troubled, as to desire their plucking up out of the *world*. But yet againe consider all these sorts of men as professing the *name* and *anointing* of *Christ Iesus* in a false and coun-

counterfeit *Antichristian* way, and then it may well be wondred, whence such monstrous kind of *Christians* or *anointed ones* arose: And *Gods* people may easily be tempted rather to desire their rooting out of the *world*, then the rooting out of any such sorts of ground or men professing any other *Religion*, *Jewish*, *Mahometan* or *Pagan*, *Antichristian* and false *Christians* being more opposite to the *kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, and more dangerous, by how much more a *counterfeit* and Traytor is worse then a professed *Fox*, an *Antichristian* (whether *Papist* or *Protestant*) worse then a *Jew*, a *Pagan*, Whether *Indian*, *Turke* or *Persian*.

Antichristians monsters in religion.

Examination of CHAP. XXIII.

Peace.

Still of the Tares.

THese *tares* (saith Master *Cotton*) are not such sinners as are opposite and contrary, for then none should be opposite or contrary but they.

Truth. I acknowledge (as Master *Cotton* here observeth) two sorts of persons *opposite* and contrary to *Christ Jesus* and his *Kingdome*.

First, All sorts of *sinners scandalous* in their *lives* and *courses*.

Two sorts of sinners.

2. More especially opposite in point of *Religion* and *worship*, as all idolaters, and especially *Antichristians*.

Now every man by nature, the best and wisest, is opposite and contrary to *Christ*, his *word* and *kingdome*; but an *idolater* and *Antichristian* is more especially opposite to his glorious *Name*, *Truth*, and Ordinances.

And therein properly lyes the *mystery* of *iniqnity*, brought in by the *man* of *sin*, that *lawless person*, 2 *Thess.* 2. most opposite or contrary to *Christ Jesus* the *Son* of *God*, and *Son* of *Righteousness*.

Peace. But this is a begging of the *question* (saith Master *Cotton*) for the *question* is about *visible* worshippers, such as were discovered and declared to be what they were, as well by their *fruit*

as by their *clads*, and therefore againe (saith Master *Cotton*) these *tares* were the *seed* and children of the *Devil*; for why should they be called the *seed* of the One, and the children of the Other?

Truth. I answer, the *Lord Jesus* distinguisheth, thus, He that soweth the *good seed*, is the *Son* of *man*; and the *good seed* are the children of the *Kingdome*: he that soweth the *tares* is the *devil*, and these *tares* are the children of the *evil* or *evil one*; Hence by way of *opposition*, these children of *evil* or *evil ones* being visibly such as are *opposite* to the children of the *kingdome*, they cannot be *hypocrites* in the *church*, untill they are discovered: These children therefore of the *evil one* opposite to the *visible kingdome*, and so to *visible Christ Jesus* in point of his *kingdome*, *church*, and *worship* (though they be the *children* of the *devil* in a sence, yet) can they be no other, but the children of the false *Christ* or *Antichrist*, in the *way* of a false *church* and *worship*.

Peace. Yea but lastly (saith Master *Cotton*) that word τοῦ πονηροῦ translated the children of the *wicked one* or *wickedness*, will agree to *hypocrites*.

Truth. It will indeed, if we respect their *inside*, which is only *visible* to the *invisible King*, as *Judas* in his profession: but it cannot agree to such *hypocrites* as are undiscovered by their *fruits* in the *church*, but unto such *hypocrites* as are discovered in their *blades* and *fruit*, and so consequently are not fit to live with other sinners in the *world*: I doubt not but Master *Cotton* will say, That although a member of a Church prove a *theife*, *adulterer*, *murtherer*, in the eyes of a Brother, that sees and knows his secret *wickedness*, yet that brother is censurable as a slanderer, if he should report these *evils*, though to the Church, untill according to *visible order* he could produce good proof and *evidence*.

Two sorts of hypocrites.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. XXIV.

Peace.

Still of the Tares.

MAster *Cotton* here seems to me (with the *Familists*) to confound *heaven and earth* together, the matters of *Worship*, and *Ordinances* of *Religion*, with the affaires and *businesses* of this *life*: for saith he, such as stand for the *kingdome* of *Satan* (as all *evil* men do) they stand in *opposition* to the *Kingdome of Christ*.

Truth. Master *Cotton* is not now to be taught the distinction between the *church* and *Commonweale*; nor that a *national church* is not of *Christ Jesus* his *institution*: yet as this discourse strongly inclines to erect a *national church*, so doth this present answer to the *confusion* both of *Church* and *Commonweale*.

It is true, a *covetuous Iew*, that blasphemeth *Christ Jesus*, stands for *Satan* against *Christ*. But by his *covetousness* in one kinde, as *covetousness* is opposite to *Righteousness* and *contenation*, &c. and for *Sathan* against *Christ* in another sence, that is in a *Religious* and *Spiritual* sence, as he prefers *Moses* before *Christ Jesus*, and denies the true *Messiah* to be yet come in the *flesh*.

Two sorts of opposites to Christ Jesus.

A cruel *Turk* stands for *Satan* against *Christ*, by his *cruelty* in one sence, to wit, in *opposition* to *Christs mercy*, *gentleness*, *patience*, &c. but by his *belief* in *Mahomet*, preferring him before *Christ*, he opposeth him in his *Kingdome* and *Worship*.

To come neerer, a *drunken English*, *Dutch* or *Frenchman*, stands for *Satan* against *Christ*, as their *drunkenness* is opposite to *Christs sobriety*, *temperance*, &c. but against *Christ* in another sence, as they profess the wayes of *Antichristian idolatry* and *superstition*: And not to observe this *distinction*, is (with some *Familists*) to run upon *quick-sands* of *confounding* the *spiritual kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, his *worship* and *ordinances*, with the *kingdomes* of this *world*, and the *common affaires* thereof in *natural* and *civil* consideration.

Peace. But though *Christ* (saith Master *Cotton*) should command

mand other *offenders* to be let alone beside *Antichristians*, yet he should not contradict any *ordinances* for the punishment of *offenders* &c. because, saith he, No law of *God*, nor *just law* of *man* commands the the rooting out of *hypocrites*, though the *church* be bound to endeavour (as much as in them lies) to heale their *hypocrisie*.

Truth. Hypocrisie discovered in the *fruit* of it, is not to be let alone in the *church* or *State*: For neither *church* of *Christ* nor *civil state* can long continue safe, if *hypocrites* or *traitors* (under what pretence soever) be permitted to break forth in them, without due punishment and rooting out; this *hypocrisie* being especially that great sin against which *Christ Iesus* so frequently and so vehemently inveighed, and against which he denounced the sorest of *plagues* and *judgements*.

Truth. By whose *command*, and by what *meanes* and *ordinances*, by whose *power* and *authority*, but by the *command*, *meanes* and *power* of *Christ Jesus*?

And I further aske, If faithful *admonition* be not one good means of *healing*, and if that lye not in the *churches power*; and if the *hypocrite* after faithful *admonition* once or twice, submit not to the *voice* of *Christ Iesus*, I ask where the Lord *Jesus* commandeth to make a stop, and not to cast forth and reject whomsoever wilfully obstinate?

Peace. Doubtless (dear Truth) many will be apt to say Master *Cotton* intends *secret* and close *hypocrisie*.

Truth. And I doubt not but *himself* will say, That this is not our *question*, but of known and unmasked *hypocrisie*, as *himself* hath formerly declared, and such as here he expresseth come under *ordinances* of healing.

Peace. But further (saith Master *Cotton*) it is not true, that *Antichristians* are to be let alone untill the end of the *world*, Why? Because *Christ* commanded *excommunication* &c.

Truth. I am astonisht, and wonder why Master *Cotton* here speaketh of *excommunication*, a *spiritual ordinance* of *Christ Iesus* in his *spiritual kingdome* or *city*, when the *dispute* onely concerns temporal *excommunication* or cutting off? Let them alone, that is, in *civil State*?

I wonder also how he should imagine the *discusser* in this Chapter

ter to affirme, that *Antichristians* are to be let alone in the *church* unto the end of the world, when it was the very scope of his argument in this Chapter, to prove, that the *speech* of *Christ Jesus*, [let them alone] must needs be understood of letting *idolaters* and *Antichristians* alone in the *civil state*, and in the *world*, because otherwise, if he had meant, [Let them alone in the *church*] he should contradict himself, who hath appointed meanes for the disturbing and purging out the corrupt *leaven* both of *persons* and *practices* out of his *church* and *kingdome*.

Peace. The same answer indeed will easily be returned to his last *supposition* of any *Popish spirit* conspiring against the *life* of *King* and *Parliament*: The whole scope of this book professeth, and in this Chapter the discusser professedly argueth, that *Christ Jesus* hath appointed that *civil offenders* against the *civil state*, ought not to be let alone.

But Master *Cotton* adds, If Popish *Priests* and *Jesuits* be "rightly expounded to be the *Rivers* and fountaines of water, "which drive the dead sea of Antichristian pollutions up and down "all Nations in Europe, and in some cases are to drink blood; "Then are they not to be let alone, but duely suppreſt and cut off "from conveying up and down idolatrous, heretical and seditious wickedness, *Rev.* 16. 4 7.

Truth. The exposition of this *Scripture* will be further examined in the *sequel*, and found no true exposition, That *Rivers* and *fountaines* of *water* drive the *sea* up and down: For *rivers* and *fountaines* however they come from the *salt-water*, yet lose they the *savour* of the *salt-sea*, and yeeld a savour of the earth through which they make their passages; and again they run into the *sea*, and are themselves driven up and down, and swallowed up in the sea: Nor will it be found a true exposition according to *Godliness* and *Christianity*, which commandeth *patience* and *waiting*, not *fire* and *sword* to *gainesayers* and *opposites*: Nor lastly, will it be found a true exposition agreeing with Master *Cottons* own profession in some passage of this book, wherein he holds forth great *toleration* and *gentleness* to other *consciences*, both *English* and *Barbarians*.

The rivers and fountaines of blood, Rev. 16.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. XXV.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master *Cotton* affirms, that *hypocrites* (even) they that are discerned to be such, yet they are not to be purged out, except they break forth into such notorious fruits of *hypocrisie* as tend to the *leavening* of the *whole lumpe*: for otherwise (saith he) we may roote out the best *wheate* in *Gods field*, &c.

Truth. I answer, since *hypocrites* and all *hypocrisie* is so odious in *Gods sight*, and so vehemently inveighed against by *Christ Jesus*, what should be the cause why the *leaven* of the *Pharisees*, which is *hypocrisie*, should finde greater *favour* and *connivence* in the *church* of *Christ*, then the *leaven* of any other *sin*, since all ought to be purged out? 1 *Cor.* 5.

Of hypocrites in profession of Christianity.

2. Contrary to what Master *Cotton* saith, [to wit, That no man meerly for *hypocrisie* and want of life and power of Godliness ought to be proceeded against] the *Spirit* of *God* by *Paul* saith, That such kind of professours of the name of *Christ* should arise, that should pretend a form of *godliness*, but not shew forth the *power* thereof, from which he commandeth us to turn away, 1 *Tim.* 3.

Peace. But Master *Cotton* excepteth, Except (saith he) they break forth into some notorious scandalous fruits of *hypocrisie*.

Truth. How shall an *hypocrite* be discovered and known to be an *hypocrite* or *traitor* in *church* or *civil state*, but by some such notorious *scandalous* fruits as tend to the leavening of the whole *lumpe*? Come to particulars; was *Judas*, *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, *Simon Magus*, *Demas*, or any other discovered to be *Hypocrites*, when they broke forth into *treachery*, *lying covetousnesse*? and might the *church* proceed against such? If it be denied, I ask to what end the *Lord* hath given those holy rules of *admonition*? &c. will it prove ought but prophaning of the name of the *Lord*, to pretend our clear discerning of the *Scripture* and *ordinances*, and not to practise them? If it be yeelded against these *fruits* of *hypocrisie*, discovering *men* to be *hypocrites*, why do we plead for a *dispensation*, and (not for the *wheat* of the *Field*,

and

and *flowers* of the *garden*, but) for the most stinking and loathsome *tares* and *weeds* to be continued in the holy *garden* of *Christ Jesus?*

Peace. But many *hypocrites* (saith Master *Cotton*) fall not within the censure of that *Scripture*, 2 *Thess.* 3. 6. Withdraw from every *brother* that walketh disorderly; for many *hypocrites* follow their *callings*, and are so far from being burthensome unto others, that they are after choaked with the *cares* and *businesses* of the *world*, and yet are not behind in *liberal contribution* to pious uses.

Truth. But is not this *halting* between *God* and *Baal*? yea is not this pleading for *Baal* for *hypocrisie*, *hypocrites* and *dissemblers*, false and *Antichristian counterfeits*, to be permitted not onely in the *wilderness* of the *world* (which I contend for) but also even in the *Garden*, *House*, *Bed*, and *bosome* of *God*? What if men be *civil* and follow their callings? Men that know not God, so do. What though they be *liberal* to pious uses (millions of *Papists* are and have been so according to their *consciences*) when as yet they are *choaked* with *cares* and *businesses* of this *world*?

How express is the *charge* of the *Lord Jesus*, to with-draw from such, notwithstanding their *forme* of *Godliness*, and *contribution* to *Godly* uses, when they declare not the *power* of *godliness*, 1 *Tim.* 3. 2. Not to *eate* with them, and therefore to seperate from such a *brother* as is *covetuous*, 1 *Cor.* 5. as well as from an *idolater*, *drunkard*, &c.

The *Church* of *Christ* is a *congregation* of *Saints*, a *flock* of *sheep*, humble, meek, patient, contented, with whom it is *monstrous* and impossible, to couple cruel and persecuting *lyons*, subtle and hypocritical *Foxes*, contentious biting *dogs* or greedy and rooting *swine*, so visibly declared and apparant.

Examination of CHAP. XXI.

Peace.

IN this Chapter four answers were given by the discusser to that great objection of the *mischief* that the *Tares* will do in the field of the *world*, if let alone and not pluckt up.

The first was, That if the *tares* offend against *Civility* or *civil state*; *God* hath armed the *civil state* with a *civil sword*, &c.

Master *Cotton* replies, what if their *conscience* incite them to *civil offences*?

I answer: the *conscience* of the *civil Magistrate* must incite him to *civil punishment*, as a Lord Maior of *London* once answered, That he was born to be a Judge, to a Thief that pleaded he was born to be a thief. If the *conscience* of the *worshippers* of the *Beast* incite them to prejudice *prince* or *state*, Although these *consciences* be not as the *conscience* of a *thief* (commonly convinced of the *evil* of his *fact*, but) perswaded of the *lawfulness* of their *actions*; yet so far as the *civil state* is endammaged or endangered, I say the *sword* of *God* in the hand of *civil Authority* is strong enough to defend it self, either by imprisoning or *disarming*, or other wholesome *meanes*, &c. while yet their *consciences* ought to be permitted in what is meerly point of *worship*, as *prayer*, and other *services* and *administrations*.

Corrupt consciences distinguished.

Hence the wisdome of *God*, in that 13 *Rom.* (reckoned by Master *Cotton* the *Magna Charta* for *civil Magistrates* dealing in matters of *Religion*) I say, there it pleaseth *God* expresly to reckon up the particulars of the *second table*, chalking out (as it were) by his own finger, the civil *sphear* or *circle*, in which the *civil Magistrate* ought to act and execute his *civil power* and *Authority*.

Peace. The second answer of the *discusser* was, that the *church* or *spiritual* City hath *laws* and *Armories* to defend it self.

Master *Cotton* excepteth, saying, That if their *members* be leavened with *Antichristian Idolatry* and *Superstition*, and yet must be tolerated in their *idolatry*, and superstitious *worship*, will not a litle *leaven* leaven the whole *lumpe*? and how then is the *church* guarded?

Tolleration of idolaters considered.

Truth. The question is, whether *idolatrous* and *Antichristian worshippers* may be tolerated in *civil state*, in the *City*, in the *Kingdome*, &c. under any *civil power*: Master *Cotton* answers no, they will do mischief. The reply is, against any *civil mischief*

chief (though wrought *conscientiously*) the *civil state* is strongly guarded. Secondly, Against the *spiritual mischief*, the *church* or *City* of *Christ* is guarded with heavenly *Armories*, wherein there hang a thousand Bucklers, *Cant.* 4. and most mighty weapons, 2 *Cor.* 10. In the *church* of *Christ* such *worshippers* ought not to be tolerated, but *cast out*, &c.

That is true, saith Master *Cotton*, but yet their *leaven* will spread.

I answer, What is this, but to make the most powerful appointments of *Christ Jesus*, those mighty *weapons* of God, terrible *censures* and soul-*punishments* in his *kingdome*, but as so many *woodden daggers* and *leaden swords*, *childrens Bull-beggars*, and *scarcrows*, and upon the point so base and beggarly, that without the help of the *Cutlers shop* or *Smiths forge*, the *church* or *kingdome* of *Christ* cannot be purged from the *leaven* of *idolatry* and *superstition*?

Civil weapons in spirituals, blur and slight the spiritual.

Peace. Me thinks the Lord *Jesus* was of another mind, *Mat.* 18. when he accounted it sufficient to cut off the obstinate, Let him be as a *Gentile* or *publican*: and in the very similitude of *leaven* (here used by Master *Cotton*) *Paul* counted it sufficient to purge out the *leaven*, 1 *Cor.* 5. if that evil person were put away from the midst of them, that is, from their holy and spiritual society. *Paul* never asks (as Master *Cotton* doth) since we have not to our *spiritual armes*, *armes* of *flesh*, and a *civil sword* to help our *spiritual*, how shall the *safety* of the *church* be guarded?

But let's proceed. The third Answer was, That the *elect* cannot be finally deceived: Master *Cotton* replies, It is true, but *God* provides meanes of *preservation*, &c. And *Jezabels* tolerating in *Thiatira* made the *church* guilty.

Truth. This Argument was not used in derogation of *Gods* meanes, *spiritual* in *spiritual* things, *civil* in *civil*, &c. but by way of *supposition* of the worst, as *Job* spake in another case, How helpest thou the *Arme* that hath no strength? Not but that in ordinary submission to *means*, man ought to help the *Lord* against the mighty. The sum is this, rather let the *Lord* alone to help himself without *meanes*, then to help the *Lord* to save his *elect* (who cannot by vertue of his *love* and *decree* finally be deceived) by any such *means* as are none of his own appointing.

2. It is true, that the *church* at *Thyatira*, tolerating *Jezabel* to seduce, was guilty, yea and I add the *City* of *Thiatira* was guilty also if it tolerated *Iezabel* to *seduce* to *fornication*. But what is this to the point of the *issue* [to wit, Whether the *City* of *Thiatria* should be guilty or not in tolerating *Iezabel* in that which the *City* judgeth to be *idolatry* and false *worship?*] *Jezabels corporal whoredoms* (sinning against *civility* or *state* of the *City*) the City by her Officers ought to punish, lest *civil* order be broken, and *civility* be infected &c. but *Iezabels spiritual whoredomes*, the *civil state* ought not to deal with, but (there being a *church* of *Christ* then in *Thiatria*, and the *spiritual whoredomes* there taught and practised) I say the *church* in *Thyatira*, which in the name and *power* of *Christ* was armed sufficiently to pass and inflict a dreadful *spiritual censure*, which *God* will confirme and ratifie most assuredly and undoubtedly in *heaven*.

The tolleration of Jezabel in Thyatira.

Peace. Two reasons more were alleadged out of the Text. The first was, that by plucking up the *tares*, the good *wheate* it self by such *hurries* and *persecutions* about *Religion*, should be indangered to be plucked up; which Master *Cotton* salveth thus: to wit, If *Gods people* themselves, for their *idolatry* and *superstition*, should be cut off, it will be for warning unto others, *&c.*

Truth. Oh *ungodly*, *unchristian*, that is *bloody* and *Antichristian doctrin*, by which (under pretence of punishing *hereticks*, *schismaticks*, and *seditious* persons) the *Son* of *God*, the *Lord* of *Lords*, and *King* of *Kings*, hath so many millions of times, in his *servants* been *persecuted*, *slaine*, and *crucified*! As for the world, it lies in *wickedness*, is a *wilderness* of *sin* over-grown with *idolatry* and *superstition*. The *Antichristian* (falsly called *Christian* world) in most abundant and over-flowing measure hath wondred after and magnified the *Beast*, *Rev.* 13. The two *witnesses prophesie* in sackcloth against this *beast*, in all *parts* of his *dominion*, by whom also they are persecuted and slaine, and yet we read not that they *judge* or *censure*, or fight for themselves with any other *weapons* then by the *word* of their *prophecie*, the *blood* of the *Lamb*, their patient *sufferings*, the not loving of their lives unto the *death*.

Christ Jesus under pretence persecuted.

The weapons of the Saints, Rev. 12.

Peace. The second reason out of the *parable* was, That the *Angels*

Angels of *God* have in charge to bundle up these *tares* for the *burning*. Master *Cotton* replies two things. First, so these *Angels* will gather into bundles for the burning *murtherers robbers*, &c. who are not yet to be tolerated.

Truth. I answer, If a man call Master *Cotton murtherer, witch*, &c. with respect to *civil matters*, I say the *civil state* must judge and punish the *offender*, else the *civil state* cannot stand, but must return to *barbarisme*. But if a man call Master *Cotton murtherer, witch* &c. in *spirttual matters*, as *deceiving* and *bewitching* the peoples *souls*, if he can prove his *charge*, Master *Cotton* ought to give *God* the *glory*, and and repent of such *wickedness*. If he cannot prove his *charge*, but slander Master *Cotton*, yet is the slander of no *civil nature*, and so not proper to any *civil court*, but is to be cast out (as we see commonly *suits* of *law* are rejected, when brought into *Courts* which take no proper *cognizance* of such cases.)

The difference between civil and spiritual slander.

Peace. What *relief* then hath Master *Cotton* or any so charged in this case?

Truth. The *court* of *heaven*, the *church* of *Christ*, calls such a *slanderer* to *repentance* (whether he be within the *church* or without, though orderly proceeding lies only against him that is within) If he be *obstinate*, how dreadful is the *sentence* against such a *slanderer*, both in *earth* and in *heaven*? how dreadful the delivering up to *hardness* of *heart* (a greater plague on *Pharaoh*; then all the devouring *plagues* of *Egypt*) how dreadful the delivering up to *Satan*, the *paw* and *jaw* of the roaring *Lyon* (infinitely far more terrible, had we eyes to see it, then to be thrown with *Daniel* to the devouring *Lyons*) There is no reason in the world therefore, for *theeves* and *murtherers* to be tolerated unto the last day without *sentence* and *punishment*, because *transgressors* against *spiritual state* may be tolerated to live in the *world*, yet punished for *spiritual transgression* with a greater *censure* and sorer punishment, then if all their bones and flesh were rackt and torn in pieces with burning pincers.

The dreadful nature of Christs spiritual punishments.

Peace. Master *Cotton* and others will say, The *idolaters* and *seducers* were censured *spiritually* under *Moses*; and yet were they also put to *death*.

Truth. I

Truth. I desire Master *Cotton* to shew me under *Moses*, such *spiritual censures* and *punishments* beside the cutting off by the *civil sword*: which if he cannot do, and that since the *Christian Church* antitypes the *Israelitish*, and the *Christian laws* and *punishments* the *laws* and *punishments* of *Israel* concerning *religion*, I may truely affirme, that that civil state which may not justly tolerate civil *offenders*, &c. yet may most justly tolerate *spiritual offenders*, of whose *Delinquency* it hath no proper cognizance.

No such spiritual punishments in the national church of Israel.

Peace. Lastly, Master *Cotton* urgeth, that παρουσία (2 *Thess.* 2.) should rather be translated *presence* then *coming*.

Truth. Admit it (though many able *translators* in divers *languages* rather translate it *coming*) and that *Antichrist* shall not be consumed by the *breath* of the *mouth* of the *Lord Jesus* before his last coming to *judgement*; yet then Master *Cotton* must give another *interpretation* of this *end* of the *world*, and the *Angels*, and the *fire*, then is usually given: however the *tares* shall be bundled up for the *everlasting burnings*, and are at present under a dreadfull *sentence* and *punishment*, and therefore (not offending in *civil* things) the *civil state* may the better tolerate them in matters of *religion* and *conscience*; and *Paul* himself (if opposed by them) might the better wait with patience, if God peradventure will give them *repentance*, &c.

Examination of CHAP. XXVII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter, those three particulars by which the *Ministers* of *Christ* are commanded to let the Tares alone, Master *Cotton* evades by calling them so many *slippery evasions*, &c.

Truth. I believe neither the *interpretations* nor the *intentions* of the *Author* were evasive: for a faithful *witness* will not lye though a false *witness* will utter *deceit*; however the *fire* shall try. The truth is, the greater part, and especially the former of Master *Cottons* answer in this Chapter, comes not neer the point of the *issue*, for that is not whether the *Saints* may pray or prophecy against *idolaters* and false *worshippers*, but whether or no for their

their present temporal *destruction* and *extirpation.*

Perce. Unto this Master *Cotton* saith, Yes, for the present *destruction* of some or other *Antichristian idolaters* in every age: and he adds, it might as well be said, that a *Minister* of *Christ* should not denounce present or speedy *destruction* to any *murtherers, whoremongers* &c. because though some of them may fall under grievous plagues, yet there will never want a company of such *evil doers*, untill the great *harvest* or end of the *world.*

Prayer against present destruction of tares.

Againe, saith he, Though a *Minister* denounce not present *destruction*, yet he cannot let them alone, no more then the *feller* of an *Oake*, that gives many a *stroake* before the last. *&c.*

2. It is not credible (saith he) that some of the *Angels* that poure out their *vials* upon the *Antichristian state*, shall not be *Ministers*: And, when the ten *horns* shall burn the *City* of *Rome*, it is not credible, that they will do it without some excitenient from the *Angels.*

Truth. The instance brought of *murtherers, whoremongers* &c. is most improper, because we all agree that present *corporal* or *civil punishment* is due to *murtherers, whoremongers*, &c. and other like *transgressors* against the *civil state* of all *Nations* and *peoples* all the *world* over, and this in all *Ages* and *Times*: but Master *Cotton* himself acknowledgeth, that many *prophecies* and *periods* are set for the *continuance* of the *Antichristian state*, and the *idolatry* and *desolations* thereof, and that those *perieds* shall be accomplished before the *judgement* day: nor will it appear that those ten *Kings* that shall in the fulfilling of this *prophecy* burn the *whore*, shall do it by way of *ordinance* and *obedience* to *Gods* command, otherwise then he permitted *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyrus*, and other *Tyrants* of the *world* (as the *fishes* of the *sea* one to devoure and swallow up another.) And for that instance of the *wood-man* felling of the *Oake*, I grant that the *prayers* of the *Saints* hasten the *whores downfal*, and the opening of these *prophecies* make way for Gods time; but what is this to a *present downfal* before the time appointed?

Againe, That it is not credible but that some of the *Angels* should be *messengers* of the *Gospel*, I answer, Master *Cotton* knows that the *English* word *messengers*, and the Greek word *Apostles*, are the same; but no such *messengers* Master *Cotton* allows

Pastors and Teachers not Apostles and messengers.

lows of: And that the word *messengers* in the *Apostles* sence should imply *Pastors* and *Teachers* (which Master *Cotton* now only allows of) I finde not in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*. That those *Angels* should be the *witnesses*, and the *Prophets* in *sackcloth*, seemes more credible.

And I may well affirme the contrary to Master *Cottons credible*, that it is *incredible* that any *servant* or *messenger* of the *King* of *Peace* should stir up the *civil Magistrate* to cut off those by the *civil sword*, whose *repentance* he is bound to wait for with *patience*, bearing in the interim their *oppositions* and *gainsayings*, 2 *Tim.* 2.

Peace. Tis most true, according to the *testimony* of *Christ Jesus* (and most contrary to the *tenents* and *practice* of the *Romish* bloody *Popes* and their *followers*) that *Christs Ministers* are *wisdomes Maidens* (*Prov.* 9.) sent forth in heavenly *Beauty* and *chastity*, with meek and loving, yet vehement *perswasions*, to call in the foolish of the *world* to partake of *wisdomes dainties*: but (dear truth) deliver your minde concerning the last passage to wit, *Elijahs act* in stirring up *Ahab* to kill all the *Priests* and *prophets* of *Baal*: This *act* (saith Master *Cotton*) was not *figurative*, but *moral*; for (saith he) *Ahab* could not be a *figure* of *Christ*, nor *Israel* after their *Apostacie*, a *type* of the true *Church*: Beside, *blasphemers* ought to die by the *law*, and *Ahab* forfeited his own *life*, because he did not put *Benhadad* to death for his *blasphemy*, 1 *Kings* 20.

Elijah stirring up Ahab to slay the Baalites.

Truth. Christ Jesus is considered two wayes, *Christ* in his *person*, and *Christ mystical* in his *church*, represented by the *Governors* thereof. Some say, that *Israel* was not in *Ahabs* time *excommunicated* and cut off from *Gods* sight, untill their final carrying out of the land of *Canaan*, 2 *Kings* 17. and that *Israel* remained (though none of *Gods* in respect of her *apostacy*, yet) *Gods* in respect of *covenant*, untill the *execution* of the *sentence* of *excommunication* or *divorce*: And therefore that *Ahab*, as *King* of *Israel*, *Gods people* (untill *Israel* ceased to be *Israel*) was a *figure* of *Christ*, that is, *Christ* in his presence, in his *governors*, in his *church*, though faln to *idolatry* under *admonition*, not yet cast off.

Concerning Israel in the Apostacy of Jeroboam.

But (2.) grant the *church* false, and *Ahab King* of a false *church*,

church, how will it appear that *Elijahs Act* was a *moral act*, and so *presidential* to all *Kings* and *Nations*?

Peace. Because (saith Master *Cotton*) it is moral equity, that *blasphemers*, and *apostate idolaters*, *seducing* others to *idolatry*, should be put to death, *Levit*. 24. 16. *Deut*. 13. 5.

Truth. Those Scriptures concern a *ceremonial land* in a *ceremonial time*, before *Christ*; and in the same *Lev*. 24. the command is equally given for the *lampe* in the *Tabernacle*, and the *shew-bread* as well as for the *idolater*.

Peace. But *Benhadad* (saith Master *Cotton*) was no *Israelite*, nor was his *blasphemy* belched out in the land of *Israel*.

Truth. It is most true, that *blasphemers* in *Israel*, and *blasphemers* against *Israel* and the *God* of it, were put to death. It is also true in the *antitype* and *substance* since the coming of *Christ*, that *blasphemers* in *Israel*, and *blasphemers* against *Israel* (the *church* of *God*) are *spiritually* to be put to death by the two-edged sword coming forth of the mouth of *Christ*, *Rev*. 1. and this *Gospel*-punishment is much more dreadful and terrible, then the punishment of the first *blasphemers* under *Moses* or the *prophets*.

Peace. Methinks also, if *Ahab* were now *presidential*, and that which he should have done to *Benhadad* presidential, then is there now no *spiritual* or *mystical Israel*, no spiritual *Canaan*, but the *letter*, *ceremony*, and *figure* yet in force, and *Christ Jesus* the *mystical* and *spiritual King* of *Israel* is not yet come in the flesh.

Truth. Yea then not onely a few in a *City* or *Kingdome* (suppose *hundreths* or *thousands*) but *millions* of *millions* of *blasphemers*, *idolaters*, *seducers*, throughout the whole wide world, ought corporally to be put to *death*.

Peace. Against this methinks Master *Cotton* should be, and I am sure against this *Christ Iesus* was, who professed in answer to the rash zeal of his *disciples* (*Luk*. 9.) That he came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them: but how relish you Master *Cottons* interpretation, of Let them alone (which he sees pleaseth some so well) to wit, Let them alone is no *precept*, but *permission*?

* *Hence Baalls Priests, Monks, Friars, and Bishops have not been civilly actually slaine in England, &c. but spiritually by Gods word, the sword of his spirit cashiered and cut off eternally.*

Truth. I answer, If let them alone were onely by *permission* in way of *providence*, Why is also a word of *prohibition* added, to wit, That such should not be medled with, for these and these *reasons*, whereas although *God* permitteth *evil doers* in *spiritual* and *civil state* in the *world*, yet there lies a word of *ordinance* to purge them out. Here is no *ordinance* for their plucking up, but for their letting alone, and that in a merciful respect of sparing the *good wheate*, who might be indangered to be pluckt up by the *roots* out of the *world*, by such rash and furious *zeale* of *plucking up the tares.*

Examination of CHAP. XXIX.

Peace.

MAster *Cotton* referring the 28 Chapter to former *agitations*, seems to invite us to pass on to Chapter 29.

Truth. Let the 28 Chapter recapitulating the former, and the whole *controversies*, be referred to the *consciences* of such to whom these passages by any *providence* of the most holy wise shall be presented, and let it graciously please the *Father* of *lights*, to help all his sons of *light*, to be truely studious of his *truth* in the *love* of it, to cast up all particulars aright in his fear, by the onely *Arithmetick* of his own most holy and unerring *spirit.*

Peace. In this Chapter first ariseth a *question* concerning the *Apostles privacy.*

Truth. Master *Cotton* acknowledgeth them to be called to a *publike Ministery*, let others judge then of their *privacy.*

Peace. But they were not sent (saith Master *Cotton*) to the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, and so consequently were to let them alone.

Touching Christs Apostles or messengers.

Truth. I answer, Let it be considered, how he that grants *men* are sent to the *sheep*, can rightly say they have nothing to do with the *Wolves* and *Foxes.*

Peace. In this controversie, Master *Cotton* elsewhere, will not onely have *sheep* fed, but the *Wolves* driven from the *fold*, their *braines* beaten out, *&c.* and that not onely by the *Pastors* or *sheapherds spiritually*, but also by the *civil Magistrate*, and to

to that end, he is to be ſtirred up by the Shepherds and *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*.

Truth. Such exciting and ſtirring up of the *civil Magiſtrate* if it were *Chriſts* will, how can the *Apoſtles* be excuſed, or the *Lord Jeſus* himſelf, for not ſtirring up the *Civil Magiſtrate* to his duty againſt theſe *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, the *Wolves* and *Foxes*, as Maſter *Cotton* here cals them?

Peace. Neither the *doctrine*, nor their offence at it (ſaith Maſter *Cotton*) was *fundamental*; nor had the *civil Magiſtrate* a *law* eſtabliſhed about *doctrine* or *offences* of this *nature*. Beſides, *Chriſt* gave his *diſciples* a charge to be wiſe as *Serpents*, and himſelf would not meddle with the *Phariſees*, untill the laſt yeer of his *Miniſtery*, leſt their *exaſperation* might have been ſome hinderance to his *Minſtery* before his hour was come. *Touching fundamentals.*

Truth. I ſhould deſire Maſter *Cotton* againe to ponder whether the notorious *hypocriſie* of the *Phariſees* (now brought into a *Proverb*) and alſo whether the notorious tranſgreſſing (and upon the point aboliſhing) of the fifth *commandment*, and ſo conſequently of all *civil* obedience (with the *Papiſts*) under pretence of *Gods* ſervice (although indeed but their own *ſuperſtition*) be not of a *fundamental* guilt, both againſt *ſpiritual* and *civil ſtate*.

Peace. I remember Maſter *Cotton* argued againſt *tolleration* of the *Papiſts*, becauſe their *conſcience* excites them againſt the *civil powers*.

Truth. And whither tended theſe principles of the *Phariſees*, but to overthrow all *Family*, yea and (if they be followed home) all *Towne*, or *City*, and *Kingdome*-Government?

Peace. Yea, But the *Romane Magiſtrate* (ſaith he) had no eſtabliſhed *law* about *doctrines* or *offences* of that Nature.

Truth. Maſter *Cotton* in all this *controverſie*, pleades, that they ought to have: and though he ſaith, that *Magiſtrates* may ſuſpend their duty, untill they be informed, yet he never ſaith, that the *Miniſters* of *Chriſt* may ſuſpend their *duty* of humble *information*, and ſtirring up them up to ſo high a part of their *Duty*, as concerns the ſouls of their *ſubjects* and the *worſhip* of *God*.

Peace. I remember, that *Gardiner* and *Boner*, &c. could not make the fire burn to consume the people of *God*, and *witnesses* of *Jesus*, untill *Edwards laws* were *repealed*, and *Maries* bloody *laws* were *established*; and so they were forced to suspend a while untill they had conjured up a *Parliament* to do both the one and the other, as their *slaves* and *drudges*, for them: And tis true, what the *Spirit* of *God* in *David* pronounceth (*Psal.* 82.) that under the *maske* or *colour* of a *law* (which carries with it the name and sound of *reason* and *righteousness*) the *wickedness* of the *world* is established: And hence the people and *servants*, and *Saints* of the most *high God*, feele the weight of the *violence* of the *Nimrod persecutors* or *hunters*.

Laws for persecuting of Christ Jesus.

But this I wonder at, that Master *Cotton* subjoyneth, that *Christ Jesus* himself, and his *disciples* (under the notion of not *exasperating* the *Pharisees*) should not reprove the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*.

Truth. It cannot sink with me, That the *Spirit* of *God* in *Christ Jesus* himself, and his *messengers*, should so far differ from *himself* in all his former *messengers* and *prophets*, who spared not to reprove the *highest Priests*, *Princes*, *Kings* and *kingdoms*; nor doth the practice of the *Lord Jesus* in so many places of *Matthew* (before his *thunderbolts* shot forth against them, *Mat.* 23.) give any countenance to so loose an *opinion*.

Peace. Master *Cotton*, who argues so much against the permitting of *blasphemers* to live in the *world*, may here call to minde, that if ever *blasphemy* were uttered against the *Son* of *God*, it was uttered by the *Pharisees* in the 12 of *Matthew*, when they imputed the casting out of the *devils* to the power of the *devil* in *Christ Jesus*, and yet we finde not that *Christ Jesus* stirred up the *civil Magistrates* to any such duty of his to put the *blasphemers* to death, nor the hereticks the *Sadduces*, who denied that fundamental, the *resurrection*.

The Pharisees blaspheming of Christ Jesus.

Truth. It is most true, that the cause needeth no such *weapons*, nor spared he the *Pharisees* for fear of their *exasperations*, but poured forth on their *faces* and *bosoms* the sorest *vials* of the heaviest doom and *censure* that can be suffered by the *children* of men, to wit, an *impossibility* of *repentance* and *forgiveness* of sins either in this or the world to come: And for the present, at every

very turn he concludes them *hypocrites*, *blind guides*, which could not escape the *judgement* of *Hell*.

So that all other *sences* of those words [*Let them alone*] that is, of not reprooving them, cannot stand: nor if it were the *duty* of the *Ministers* of *Christ* to stir up the *civil Magistrate* against such hypocritical and blasphemous *Pharisees*, could *Christ Jesus himself* or his servants the *Apostles* be excused for not complaining to the *Romane State* against them; So leaving the blame upon the *conscience* of the *governors*, if the land were not purged of such *blasphemers* and fundamental opposers of the *Son* of *God*.

Let me me end (*sweet peace*) with the *bottome* of all such *persecutions*, Satan rageth against *God* and his *Christ*; that *devil* that cast the *Saints* into *prison*, *Rev.* 2. (*what instruments soever he useth) would cast *Christ* himself into *prison* againe, and to the *gallows* againe, if he came again in *person* into any (the most refined) persecuting *state* in the world.

* *Magistrates, kings, high priests: Herod, bad kings, good kings*, &c.

Examination of CHAP. XXX.

Peace.

I Doubt not (*dear truth*) in the first place, but you cast an observant eye on Master *Cottons* collections in this Chapter, from *Pauls* words *Acts* 25. 11. I will mention the two first.

1. That a man may be such an *offender* in matters of *Religion* against the *law* of *God* (against the *church*) as well as in *civil matters* against *Cæsar*, as to be worthy of death.

2. That if a *servant* of *God* should commit any such *offence*, he would not refuse *judgement* to the death, *ver*. 11.

Truth. Paul onely saith in the general, *If I have committed ought worthy of death, I refuse not to die*: Now therefore as *Paul* said, *No man* (that is, no man justly) may *deliver me to the Jews*; So say I, no man from these words of *Paul* (without wronging him and his *Master* the *God* of *Truth*) can draw such a *conclusion*, as if *Paul* had acknowledged it evil in him to have *preached* against the *laws* of the *Jews* or the *temple*, which the *Lord Jesus* and his *servants* after him, so abundantly did, although

Acts 25. 11. *considered.*

though at this time (in point of fact) *Paul* might well say, he had not done ought against the *law* of the *Jews*, I mean the *ceremonial law* and the *Temple*, for he had now observed the ceremonies of the Law, and the holiness of the Temple: although for this some use to blame him, not discerning that *Paul* knew there was a time to honour those *ceremonies*, even after *Christs death*, and a time as much to debase, dishonour, and abolish them.

Peace. His third *collection* is, That it is lawfull even in *Ecclesiastical causes* to appeale to a *Pagan Magistrate.*

Truth. As I utterly renounce such a *conclusion* (any otherwise then in respect of civil *violence* offered for a mans *conscience*, which *violence Cæsar* ought to see revenged and punished) so neither will this instance of *Paul* prove it: for in appealing to an higher *Judge*, a man alwayes presupposeth (if not skill perfect, yet) competent skill, and a true power committed from *God*, to judge in such cases, which *Paul* for many reasons, both in this Chapter, and elsewhere manifested, could not suppose in the *Romane Cæsars*, or any *civil Magistrate.*

No appeals to the civil powers in matters meerly spiritual.

Peace. Master *Cotton* urgeth, that these words (*verse 9.*) [These Things] imply matters of *Religion* as well as *civil things.*

Truth. Those words [These Things] were not the words of *Paul*, but the words of *Festus.*

2. Grant them *Pauls* words, yet if for those things the *Jews* seek his *life*, *Paul* well appeals to *Cæsar* against them, for *Cæsar* is bound to protect the *bodies*, *goods*, or good *names* of his *subjects*, either from false *accusations* in *civil things*, or *persecution* for matters of *conscience*, which is a *violence* against the *civil state*, of which *Cæsar* was the *supreme officer.*

Peace. His fourth *collection* is, that *civil Magistrates* may and ought to be acquainted with all matters of *Religion*, especially *capital.*

Truth. In *twenty five* parts of the world of *thirty*, *civil Magistrates* cannot possibly be thus acquainted; for the sound of *Christ Jesus* is not there to be heard, as the best *Historians* and *Cosmographers* yeeld.

Peace. It seemes strange, if *Christ Jesus* had intended any such *delegation* of *spiritual power* to *civil Magistrates*, that he should

ſhould keep the very ſound of his name from them.

Againe, in the other five parts of the world, where his *name* is ſounded, how rarely hath he acquainted any *civil Magiſtrate* with the ſaving *knowledge* of his *will*?

Few Magiſtrates in the world know Chriſt Jeſus.

Truth. I add, that ſuch rare ones, that ſavingly know *Chriſt Jeſus* and his *will*, are no *judges* in ſuch caſes over the *conſciences* of their *brethren*, or any, by way of *civil judicature*, this very inſtance of *Pauls* appealing to *Cæſar* hath and ſhall further declare and mainfeſt.

Peace. But what ſhould be the reaſon why Maſter *Cotton* affirmeth, That the *civil Magiſtrate* ought to be able to judge of all *capital* offences againſt *Religion*, but not of all *queſtions*?

Truth. The truth is, if the *civil Magiſtrate* were a *Surgeon* appointed of *Chriſt Ieſus* to judge in cauſes that concern cutting of *life* and *limbe*, &c. he would beyond all queſtion be able to judge of *petty cuts*, *wounds*, &c. But *Satan* that old deceiver, that knew (by *Gods* permiſſion) how to *cozen Adam*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Peter* (the moſt perfect, wiſe, and holieſt of *Gods ſervants*) is not now to learn how to cheat Maſter *Cotton* alſo: *Satan* well ſees, if Maſter *Cotton* ſhould grant it the *Magiſtrates* duty to judge in leſſer *queſtions*, the hope of *Benefices* and *Livings* were gone, and the trade of *Synods* would down: And if he ſhould not grant it to be the *Magiſtrates* duty to judge in *capitals*, the *Pope*, the *Biſhops*, and all *perſecuting prieſts*, would want the *ſecular* power, the *ſervile executioners* of their moſt wicked and moſt bloody *decrees* and *ſentences*.

Mystical and cruel Surgery.

Peace. In the next place Maſter *Cotton* ſeemes to charge a *contradiction* upon the diſcuſſer, for ſaying, that *civil Magiſtrates* were never appointed by God *defenders* of the *faith* of *Ieſus*, and yet every one is bound to put forth his utmoſt powers in Gods buſineſs.

Truth. Love hath charged the diſcuſſer to ſpare the tearm of *contradiction* in many *paſſages* of Maſter *Cottons* writing, where he hath (to his underſtanding) obſerved them, to prevent exaſperations, *&c.* contrarily Maſter *Cotton* againſt the diſcuſſer, ſtraines the *text* and *Margin* to ſound out *contradictions*, *contradictions*, to all paſſengers.

But

The title of defender of the faith.

But let us examine. And first, Master *Cotton* will not deny, but the *son* of *perdition*, the Pope of *Rome* (whose coming and practice is by the work of the *devil*) was the blasphemous *author* (he and his *Cardinals* in *Councel* together) of that title *defender of the faith* sent with great *gratitude* and *solemnity* to *Henry* the eighth, as a *kingly popelike reward*, for penning (or bearing the name of) a blasphemous *writing* against *Christ Iesus* in his holy truth proclaimed by *Luther*.

Peace. With what *eyes* and *eares* such *blasphemous* and *bloody titles* are to be lookt upon and heard by the chaste *eyes* and *ears* of *Christs Doves*, *Christ Iesus* will one day, and shortly make appear.

Truth. But what *contradiction* will be in the later, to wit, [That every one must do his utmost in *Gods business*] when this former (to wit, to be a *defender of the Faith*) is constantly denied to be any of the *businesses* of *civil officers*, and the *preservation* of the *civil state*, which charge and worke by the *civil state* can only lawfully (and therefore possibly) be committed to them? For otherwise to take these *words* in a literal *sence*, without respect to the *rules* and *limits* of *Gods order* and *righteousness*, what is it but to fire the *world* with *wild-fire* of blind *zeale*, and to tumble down all *Gods* beauteous *structures* and *buildings* into a *Chaos* and *confusion* of *Antichristian Babylon*? And this especially by the meanes of such who think and say, that they cannot serve God with all their might except they punish *blaspemers*, and fight against *blasphemous nations*, and subdue (not only the holy land from the *Turk*, but) even all the *world* from their *idolatries* and *blasphemies*, if it lie in their power; which *spirit* whether it be the *spirit* of the Son of *God*, and Prince of *peace*, or the *spirit* of the *world*, the *spirit* of the son of *perdition*, let every mans own *spirit* search and judge in the holy fear and presence of *God*.

To serve God withal our might, literally taken, horribly abused.

Peace. But further (saith Master *Cotton*) it was unnecessary, yea folly and preposterous to have complained to *Herod*, *Pilate*, *Casar*, against the *Heresies* of the *Pharisees*: For if a poor *sheep* should complain to the *Wolves* of the *Wolves heresies*, would not the whole kennel of *Wolves* rise up against him, *&c*? Would it not have disturbed the civil state, by putting them into *jealousies* of a

new

new kingdome, and it was necessary the *Gospel* should first be known and received, believed and professed, before any could be complained of for *Apostacie* from it into *heresie*.

Truth. Master *Cotton* cannot deny, but that most of the *Magistrates* of the *world* (by far) are such as *Herod*, *Pilate*, *Cæsar* were, without *God*, and *enemies* to him, yea also in that little part of the *world* which is called *Protestant*. Now if they are but *kennels of Wolves* (compared with *Christs sheep*) as Master *Cotton* expresseth, I first demand how poorely hath *Christ Jesus* in all *ages* provided for and furnished his people with such main pillars of their *spiritual joyes*, *light* and *confidence*, as *godly* and *Christian Magistrates*?

Christ Jesus hath rarely furnished his people with godly Magistrates.

Peace. It is as cleer as the Sun beams, that if ever *Christ Jesus* had intended such an *ordinance* in and over his *church*, he would never have been so mistaken, as to supply his *sheep* in all *ages*, and in all parts of the *world*, with *kennels* of *Wolves* in stead of *godly* and *Christian Shepherds*.

Truth. But secondly, Grant them to be *kennels* of *Wolves* in Master *Cottons* sence, yet what *bar* is this to any from *presenting*, and to them from receiving such *complaints* as are proper to their *cognizance*, to their *duty* and *calling* (were they truely called of *God* and *Christ* to such a *service*) to wit, to govern in *spiritual*, *Ecclesiastical* or *Church causes*? what though a *Magistrate* be a *drunkard*, *whoremonger*, *opperssour*, is it not the *duty* of the people to complain to him of *drunkards*, *thieves*, *whoremongers*, *oppressors*? whom if he punish not, but countenance, *&c.* yet have such *petitioners* discharged their *consciences*, and left the *guilt* upon the right head, who should be an *head* of *civil righteousness*, but is an *head* of *wickedness* and *iniquity*.

Peace. By this *argument* of Master *Cottons*, the poor *widow*, that sued for right to the unjust *Judge*, that neither feared *God*, nor regarded man, took a foolish and a prestoperous course, though commended by the *Lord Jesus*, Luk. 18.

Truth. Indeed (as Master *Cotton* saith) If we look at the probability of any wholesome fruit from such *trees*, we cannot expect *grapes* from such *briars*, nor *figs* from such *thistles*: But looking at the providence of *God*, who ruleth and over-ruleth the hearts of *Kings* and all *Magistrates* (as in the case of the poor *widow* and

thousand others) as also at what is their *Duty* and *profession*, to wit, to invite cheerfully their *subjects* to bring their *complaints* to them; as also what is the *duty* of the wronged and *oppressed*: to wit, to deliver and discharge their own *souls*. I see not but it is safe, seasonable, and a duty, to cry even to the unjust *Judge* for *Justice*, as that poor woman did.

Peace. Yea, were *Cæsar*, *Herod*, *Pilate* (by virtue of their *places*, *offices*, and *duties*) *Ecclesiastical Judges*, and ought to have suppressed the *heresies* and *blasphemies* of the *Pharisees*? why should it be impossible, but they might have removed the *Pharisees offence*; as many *Kings* of *England* and *France* (though evil themselves) have stirred mightily upon complaints of their *subjects* against the *Popish Pharisees* of their times, yea the highest of them the *Pope* himself? And if Master *Cottons* doctrine be true, why must not the *Magistrate* be sought unto, that a true *Gospel* be received and believed? Why may not the *civil power* be a judge in the first receiving of the *Gospel*, as afterward for the *preserving* and *restoring* of it?

Truth. Such is the *brightness* of the *Gospel* of *Christ Iesus*, and the dread and the power of the two-edged *sword* coming out of his *mouth*, subduing and slaying the highest *opposites* and *adversaries*, that it will prove to be unnecessary, foolish and preposterous to run to any other *sword* or *censures*, then those alone of *Christs*, so mighty, and so powerful, were they rightly administred, as the *Popish* and *Protestant world* pretendeth.

Peace. Lastly, Master *Cotton* professeth he knows not how Magistrates can know the *Son*, and kiss him, and acknowledge his *kingdome*, and submit their *crowns* to it, love his *truth*, be *nursing Fathers* and *Mothers* to his *church*, and yet not be *defenders* of it.

Truth. If kings must submit their *crowns* to this *kingdome* of *Christ*, must it not undeniablly follow, that the *kingdom* of *Christ Iesus* is far greater and *higher* then their *thrones* and *crowns*? (for none will submit to the *lesser*, *weaker*, &c.) And if so, what weakness is it yet to expect, that the inferiour *power* and *authority*, to wit, *civil* and earthly, must defend the highest and most *glorious crown* and *throne* of *Christ Iesus*? Like as if a poor *Indian Canow* should submit it self to some *Royal Navy*, and yet must be

Defendor of the faith.

this

this *Navies defender*; or a few naked *Americans* submit to some *Army* or *kingdome*, and yet these poor naked ones must bear (and that seriously without *Iesting*) the title of their *defenders*.

Truth. Master *Cotton* and those of his bloody *judgement* are not contented that the *civil powers* defend the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Saints* from *oppressors*, from *persecutors*, &c. that *love* and *affection* by all gracious means be exprest more to the *Saints* then to other people of their *dominions*, that all true Christian meanes be used for the spreading of the name and *truth* of the *Lord Iesus*; I say, this serves not the turn, and gives not content, except also the *Magistrate* defend by *civil sword*, the *purity* of the *doctrine*, and the *ordinances* of *Christ Iesus* in his *church*, in *punishing* and *suppressing* the contrary by arme of *flesh*, whether *within* or *without* the *church*.

Peace. In this last respect I must speak an high and bold word, to wit, That the pooreſt *youth* or *maid*, who hath more *knowledge* and *grace* of *Christ* then a king or Emperour hath (as well sometimes it hath and may come to pass) may be a greater *contender* for the truth, and a great *defender* of the *faith* of *Iesus*; then the *king* or Emperor, and so consequently then all the *kings* of the whole world. *A bold, but a true word.*

Truth. Paul was set for the *defence* of the *Gospel* and consequently every *believer* in *Iesus* (according to his measure of *grace* received) and therefore, your word is not more *bold* then *true*. For *spiritual defences* are most proper to a spiritual estate, and so accordingly most potent, prevalent, and mighty.

Examination of CHAP. XXXI.

Peace.

HEre first Master *Cotton* will not own it, that the *title* of *Iudges* of *spiritual causes* be given to *Civil Magistrate*.

Truth. The *Parliament* of *England* established King *Henry* the eighth *supreame head and Governor* over the *church* of *England*, and what is this but *supreme Iudge* in all *Ecclesiastical causes*? What though the tearme *judge* be stumbled at by some,

and the tearm *head* will not down with others? yet take but what Master *Cotton* grants: And (as the *devil* himself, lay hid under *Samuels* mantle, so) under Master *Cottons* tearm of *fathers, mothers, shepherds* (that is, *spiritual fathers, mothers, shepherds*) must of necessity be concluded an *headship*, and *power*, and *office* of *judging*, when this *child* doth a miss, when these *sheep* go astray, who are *schismaticks*, who *hereticks*, who *sheep*, who *Wolves*, that the *sheep* may be corrected and reduced, and the *Wolves* braines knockt out.

The title of supream head, oath of supremacy, &c.

Peace. They may judge (saith Master *Cotton*) but (not with a *church*) but *politick power*, and for want of which, and for giving their *kingdome* to the *Beast* (*Revel.* 17. 12, 13.) God (saith he) opened a way for the *Turkes* to break in and destroy the third part of *Christendome*, Rev. 9. 14. to 21.

Truth. Let it be under what *cloake*, or *colour*, or notion soever, let it be *politick* (indeed) and *subtle*, or plaine and simple, yet it seemes it is true, that he must *judge*, which will not be owned in *plaine tearms*, but as a *Protector*, a *Father* or a *Shepheard*.

Secondly, Those *Scriptures* quoted do not lay a *guilt* upon the ten *horns* or *kings* for suffering the *beast* in their *dominions*, but for giving their power and *authority* unto him.

Thirdly, the *civil peace* was not dissolved but preserved for many hundred yeers before the *Turkes* rose, to punish either the *Eastern* or *Western* part of *Antichristian Christendome*: So that a false *religion* doth not immediately and instantly *dissolve* the *civil peace*, but *kingdomes* and *states* professing false *religions* may flourish. Tis true, *God* in his deep *councels* and *times* brings *judgements, eternal* and *temporal*, upon false worshipping *states*, especially where the *truth* of *Christ* is *presented* and *persecuted*; Yet divers *ages* of temporal *prosperity* to the *Antichristian kingdom*, prove that common *Assumption* and *maxime* false, to wit, that the *church* and *Commonweale* are like *Hipocrates twins*, weep and laugh, flourish and fade, live and die together.

The plague of the Turkes upon the Antichristian world.

Peace. I cannot reach the *bottome* of this next passage of Master *Cotton, viz.* that *Magistrates* may be subject to the *church* and lick the dust of her *feet*, and yet be *supreme governers of the church*

church also: In *spiritual matters* (saith he) and in a right *administration* of them, he is subject; but in *civil things*, and in the corrupt administration of *church*-affaires (so far corrupt as tendeth to the disturbance of *civil peace*) there the *Magistrates* (saith he) are *supream governors*, even over the *churches* in their own *dominions*.

Truth. Who sees not here, but by this Doctrine *Magistrates* must judge, when the *church* is rightly administred, and when it is corruptly administred: And that whatever the *Ministers* of the *church*, or the whole *church* judge, that is nothing, for the *Magistrate* if he be *supream governor*, he must *judge*? and what is this but even in the very same respect, I say in one and the same respect, to make them *high* and *low*, *up* and down, *mountaines* and *vallies*? *supream governors*, and so above the *church*, anon agen to lick the dust of the *feet* of the *church*; which Master *Cotton* will as soon make good, as bring the *East* and the *West* together.

The Civil Magistrate no governor over the spiritual kingdome of Christ.

Besides (as elsewhere I observed) what if the people will have no *kings*, *governors* &c. nay no *Parliament*, nor *general courts*; but leave vast *interregnums* or *Ruptures* of *government*, yea conclude upon frequent *changes* (as all *nations* of the *world* have had great changes this way) shall the *churches* of *Christ Jesus* be without an *head*, a *governor*, *defender*, *protector*? What a slavery doth this *bloody doctrine* bring the faire *Spouse* of *Christ* into?

Peace. In the passage concerning *Saul*, Master *Cotton* observeth, that *Saul* was not taken away for exercising *civil power* against *spiritual wickedness* in the case of *witches*.

Truth. *Saul* was *king* of *Israel*, the *church* of *God*, and a typical *king*, the anointed or *Christ* of *God*; and Master *Cotton* himself will subcribe to the confession of *Nathaniel* to *Christ Iesus*, Thou art the *king* of *Israel*, which he was and is in his own most holy *person*, as also in his *Ministers* and *governors* during his absence. It was now *Sauls* duty to put literal *witches* to death in his *Christian Israel*, his *church* and *Congregation*.

Whether Saul a type of Christ.

It is true, *Saul* forsaking the *God* of *Israel*, perished for other wickedness, and among other his sins, for persecuting or hunting righteous *David*, and therein *Saul* is a *type* and warning to all the

the *apostates* and *persecuting Sauls* of the earth, that *desperation* and desperate self-destruction attend them.

Peace. But whither tends this last passage concerning *David*? We read not (saith Master *Cotton*) that he did exercise any *spiritual power* as a *King*, but as a *prophet*. Will he commend *Sauls* kingly acting in *spiritual* things, as just; and shall not *David* (whose *name* and *throne* were most eminently figurative of *Christ Jesus*) be found a *king* in *Israel*, the house and *church* of *God*?

Truth. The patern of *David*, *Solomon*, and the good *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, is the common and great *argument* of all that plead for *Magistrates* power in *spiritual* cases: And indeed, what *power* was that but *spiritual*, which he exercised in bringing up the Arke, expresly said to be done by *king David*? 2 *Sam.* 6. What power was that but *kingly*, put forth in ordering and disposing the *services* of the *Priests* and *Levites*, and *singers*, 1 *Chron.* 16?

The kings of Israel and Judah types.

Peace. Master *Cotton* not ignorant of this, it may be was not pleased with that *passage*, *viz.* [That *God* will take away such *stayes*, upon whom *Gods* people rest in his wrath, that *king David*, that is, *Christ Jesus* the *Antitype*, in his own *spiritual power* in the hands of his *Saints*, may spiritually, and for ever be advanced.]

Truth. This *power* the *General Councels*, the *Popes*, the *Prelates*, the *kings* of the earth, the *civil courts* and *Magistrates*, lay claime unto, and most of them with *bloody hands*, yea and *Gods* servants have too long leaned unto, and longed after, such an *arme* of *flesh*, which proves (most commonly) but *Sauls arme*, an oppressing and *persecuting*, and a self-*killing* and destroying power at the last.

Examination of CHAP. XXXII.

Peace.

THis Chapter containes, a twofold denyal: First (saith Master *Cotton*) we hold it not lawful for a *Christian Magistrate*

to compell by civil sword, either *Pharisee*, or *Pagan*, or *Jew*, to profess his *religion*.

Truth. He that is deceived himself with a *bad commodity*, puts it off as *good* to others: Master *Cotton* believes, and would make others believe, that it is no *compulsion*, to make *laws* with *penalties* for all to come to *church*, and to *publike worship*; which was ever in our *fathers dayes*, held a sufficient *trial* of their *religion*, and of *consenting* to or *dissenting* from the *religion* of the times. Hence by some is that of *Luk.* 14. alledged, Compel them to come in, sufficiently fulfilled, if they be so far compelled, as to be conformable to come to *church*, though it be under the pretence and mask of comming only to hear the *word*, whereby they may be *converted*.

But it is needless to stand *guessing* and *guessing* at the *weight*, when the *scales* are at hand, the holy *word* of *God*, by which we all profess to have our *weight*, or to be found too light.

Peace. Master *Cotton* therefore (Secondly) denies that a blind *Pharisee* may be a good *subject*, and as peaceable and profitable to the *civil state* as any, since they destroyed the *civil state* by destroying *Christ*.

Truth. When we speak of *civil state*, and their *administrations*, it is most improper and fallacious to wind or weave in the consideration of their true or false *religions*.

It is true, *idolatry* brings *judgement* in *Gods* time (and so do other sins, for we read not of *idolatry* in *Sodoms punishment*, *Ezek.* 16.) notwithstanding there is a present *civil state* of men combined to live together there in a *commonweale*, which Gods people are commanded to pray for (*Jerm.* 29.) whatever be the *religion* there publikly professed. Beside, the *Pharisees* destroying *Christ*, were guilty of blood and persecution, which is more then idolatry, *&c.* and cries to heaven for vengeance.

Peace. It cannot therefore with any shew of *charity* be denyed, but that divers *priests* of *Babel*, might be *civil* and peaceable, notwithstanding their *religion* and *conscience*.

Truth. Yea it is known by experience, that many thousands of *Mahumetan*, *Popish* and *Pagan Priests* are in their persons, both of as *civil* and courteous and peaceable a nature, as any of the *subjects* in the state they live in.

The

The priests and clergy in all Nations the greatest peace-breakers.

The truth is, that herein all the *priests* in the *world, Mahumetan, Popish, Pagan* and *Protestant*, are the greatest *peace-breakers* in the *world*, as they (fearing their own cause) never rest stirring up *Princes* and people against any (whether *Gods* or the *devils instruments*) that shall oppose their own *religion* and *conscience*, that is in plaine *English*, their *profits, honours* and *bellies*.

Examination of CHAP. XXXIII.

Peace.

THe entrance of this Chapter (*dear truth*) looks in mine eye like one of the bloody *fathers* of the *inquisition*, and breaths (like *Paul* in his mad *zeal* and *frenzy*) *slaughters* against the Son of *God* himself, though under the name or brand of a *seducer*, as all *persecutors* have ever done: For (saith Master *Cotton*) he that corrupteth a soul with a corrupt *religion*, layeth a *spreading leaven* which corrupteth a state, as *Michals idolatry* corrupted *Laish*, *Judg.* 19. and that *Apostacy* was the *captivity* of the land; and the worshipping of *images* brought the plague of the *Turkes*, and therefore it is *lex talionis*, that calleth for not only *soul* for *soul*, but *life* for *life*.

Touching the seducer.

Truth. Thy tender *braine* and *heart* cannot let flie an *arrow* sharpe enough to pierce the *bowels* of such a *Bloody Tenent*.

Peace. The flaming *jealousie* of that most holy and righteous *Judge*; who is a *consuming fire*, will not ever hear such *Tenents*, and behold such practices in silence.

Truth. Sweet peace, long and long may the *Almond*-tree flourish on Master *Cottons* head in the armes of true *Christianity* and true *Christian* honour; And let New-*Englands Colonies* flourish also (if Christ so please) untill he come againe the second time: But that he who is love it self, would please to tell Master *Cotton* and the *Colonies*, and the *world*, the untrueness, uncharitableness, nnmercifulness, and unpeaceableness of such *conclusions*: For is not this the plaine *English* and the bottome, to wit, If the *spirit* of *Christ Jesus* in any of his *servants*, *sons* or *daughters*, witnes-

witnessing against the *abominations* or stinks of *Antichrist*, shall perswade one *soul*, man or woman, to fear *God*, to come out of *Babell* &c. to refuse to bow down to; and to come out from communion with a *state-golden-image*, and not to touch what it is perswaded is an unclean thing.

That man or woman who was the *Lambs* and the *Spirits instruments* thus to inlighten and perswade one soul, he hath (saith this tenent) laid a *leaven*, which corrupteth the *state*, that is, the *land, town, city, kingdome*, or *Empire* of the *world*; that *leaven* shall bring the *captivity*, ruine and destruction of the *state*, and therefore *Lex Talionis*, not only *soul* for *soul* in the next, but *life* for *life* also in this present *world*. *Of seducing.*

Peace. All thy *witnesses* (*dear truth*) in all ages have borne the *brand* and black mark of *seducers*, and still shall, even *Christ Jesus* himself, to the last of his holy *army* and followers against his enemies.

Truth. How famous, or rather abominably infamous hath been the practice of all *persecutors* this way? I shall pick out one instance, a very stinking weed out of *Babels* desart (to let pass all the bloody, *bulls* and their roarings and *threatning* of *Councels*, *Popes* and *Emperors*, *kings*, *Bishops*, *Commissaries* &c. against the *Waldensians*, *Wicklevians*, the *Hussites*, *Hugonites*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists* &c.) their infections and seducings. To let pass former and latter *persecutions* in our own *English* Nation, which hath been (as *France*, *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Low-countries*, &c. also) a *slaughter-house* of *Christs lambs*; one instance more pertinent then many, we have (in the raigne of that wise and mighty prince *Henry* the eighth) of bloody *Longland*, *Lincolnes Bishop*, acting to the life Master *Cottons Tenent* against *seducers* throughout his *Diocess*. What *oaths* did he exact? what *articles* did he invent, to find out the *meetings* the *conventicles*, the *conferences*, of any poor servants of *God*, men and women, day or night; whether the *father* read to the *child*, or the *childe* to the *father*, the *husband* to the *wife*, or the *wife* to the *husband*? Yea, whether they spake any thing (though never so little) out of any line of holy *Scriptures*, or any of *Wickliffes* books, or any good *English writings*: By which abhorred *practices*, the *fathers* (caught in this bloody *Bishops oath*, vehemently forced upon all suspected) *Bishop Longlands subtile Oaths of inquisition.*

the *fathers*, I say were forced to accuse and betray their *children*, the *children* their *fathers*, *husbands* their *wives*, *wives* their *husbands*, for fear of horrible death on the one side, or else of running upon the rocks of *Perjury* on the other side.

Peace. Hold (*dear truth*) and stop; my *spirit* is wounded with such *relations*.

Truth. O how were the *Saints*, and *Christ Jesus* in them, wounded with such *tenents* and *practices*!

Peace. Master *Cotton* will salve this up (with what he elsewhere saith) thus: *Longlands*, and the *Papists religion*, and the *religion* of *England*, was then false in that *kings* time.

Truth. What then? No pious and sober man can hold all men devoid of *conscience* to *God*, except himself. In all *religions*, *sects*, and *consciences*, the sons of men are more or less zealous and precise, though it be in falshood.

2. But let it be granted, that the *religion* persecuted is false, and that a false *religion* like *leaven*, will spread, as did this *idolatry* of *Michal*, *Jeroboam*, and others; and grant that this *idolatry* will bring *judgements* from heaven in the end, yet I desire Master *Cotton*, or any knowing man, to answer to these two *questions*.

1. Where finde we, since the comming of *Christ Jesus*, a *land* like *Canaan*, a *state-religion*, a *City*, or *Town-religion*, wherein the *Townes*, or *Cities*, or *kingdomes apostacie* may be feared (as Master *Cotton* here writes of *Laish*) and consequently the *Townes* or *Cities captivity* for that sin?

2. Where read we of the destruction of a *land* for *idolatry*, or *images*, without a ripeness in other sins, and especially of *violence* and oppression (of which *persecution* is the greatest?) And therefore to follow Master *Cottons* instance of the *Turks*, beside *idolatry* (which saith Master *Cotton* brought the plague of the *Turks*, Rev. 9.) read we not also in that *Scripture*, and in all *histories*, of their detestable and wonderful *whoredomes*, *witchcrafts*, *thefts*, *slaughters*, and *murthers*, amongst which this bloody Tenent of *persecution* was ever in most high esteem? *&c.*

Causes of destruction to a Nation.

Peace. Indeed *Babel* hath been filled with blood of all sorts, *Revelations* the 18. but in especial manner hath the *whore* been

been drunk with the blood of the *Saints*, and *witnesses* of *Jesus*, Revel. 17.

Truth. Hence then not *idolatry* onely, but that bloody *doctrine* of *persecution* (the great *fire-brand* and *incendiary* of all *Nations* and *Commonweals*) brought in the bloody *Turkes* to revenge Gods *truth* and *witnesses* slaine by the idolatrous and bloody *Antichristians.*

Peace. I something question, that it can be proved, that the most righteous *Judge* of the whole world ever destroyed *state* or *nation* for *idolatry*, but where this bloody *doctrine* of *persecution* was joyned with it, that is, until he had graciously sent *witnesses* against such *idolatries*, and till such *witnesses* were despised and persecuted, and therefore here comes in seasonably the sad exprobration of the *Lord Jesus*, against *Jerusalem*, threatning the ruine and desolation of it, Oh *Ierusalem, Ierusalem*, which killest the *Prophets*; and stonest them which were sent unto thee, *&c!*

Truth. I add lastly, Let it be granted that a soul is corrupted with a false *religion*, and that that false *Religion*, like a *leaven*, in time hath corrupted the *state*;

Yet first, that *state* or *land* is none else but a part of the *world*, and if so (since every part more or less in degree follows the nature of the whole) it is but natural, and so lieth as the whole *world* doth in *wickedness*; and so, as a state or part of the world, cannot but alter from one false way or path to another (upon this supposition (as before) that no *whole state*, *kingdome*, *City*, or *Town* is *Christian* in the new *Testament*.

All nations Cities, Towns, &c. are part of the world.

Secondly, Grant this state to be so corrupted or altered from one corrupt *religion* to another, yet that *state* may many *ages* enjoy civil *peace* and worldly prosperity, as all *histories* and *experience* testifies.

Thirdly, That *idolatry* may be rooted out, and another *idolatrous religion* of the *conqueror* (as in the *Romane* and other *conquests*) brought: in or the *religion* may be changed something to the better, by the coming of new *Princes* to the *crown*, as we see in *Henry* the eighth, King *Edward*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, in our own *Nation*, and of late times.

Change of Religions.

Lastly, A *soul* or *souls* thus leavened, may be reduced

by *repentance* (as often it pleaſeth *God* ſo to work, why then ſhould there (as Maſter *Cotton* intimates) ſuch a peremptory bloody ſentence be thundred out as *life* for *life*, &c.

Peace. But, ſaith Maſter *Cotton*, *falſe prophets*, in the old *Teſtament*, were to die, but for attempting; and the reaſon was not from any *typical holineſs* of the *land*, but from the dangerous wickedneſs of the attempting to thruſt away a ſoul from *God*, which is a greater injury, then to deprive a man of *bodily life*.

Truth. The reaſon to me appears plainly *typical*, with reſpect to that holy *nation*, and the *ſeducers* ſeeking to turn the ſoul away from the *Lord their God*, who had brought them forth from the *land* of *Egypt*, by ſuch *ſignes*, *miracles* &c. Let Maſter *Cotton* now produce any ſuch *nation* in the *whole world*, whom *God* in the *New Teſtament* hath literally and miraculouſly brought forth of *Egypt*, or from one *land* into another, to the truth and purity of his *worſhip*, &c. then far be it, but I ſhould acknowledge that the *ſeducer* is fit to be put to death. But draw away the *curtaine* of the *ſhadow*, and let the *ſubſtance* appear, not a whole *Nation*, City, *&c.* but the *Chriſtian church* brought by ſpiritual *ſignes* and *wonders* from the *Egypt* of this *world* in all *nations* of the *world*, where the *Goſpel* comes. Juſtly therefore he that ſeduceth a ſoul from his *God* in *Chriſt*, and ſo endangereth to leaven that only true *Chriſtian ſtate* or *kingdome* the *church* of *Chriſt*, he ought to die (upon his obſtinacy) without mercy, as well under *Chriſt*, as under *Moſes*. Yea, he is worthy of a ſorer *puniſhment* (as ſaith the *Spirit* of *God*) who trampleth under feet the blood of *Chriſt*: ſuch a *deceiver* or *ſeducer* (except he repent) is to be cut from the preſence of the *Lord*, and to loſe an *eternal life*: He that is cut off from *material Iſrael*, might yet repent and live eternally, but he that is cut off from *myſtical Iſrael* under the *Goſpel*, that is, for obſtinacy in ſin (the proper *hereticke*) he is cut off to all eternity; which puniſhment as it is infinitely tranſcendent and more dreadful in the nature and kind of it, ſo anſwereth it fully and infinitely that clauſe of Maſter *Cotton*, to wit, To thruſt a ſoul from *God* is a greater injury then to deprive a man of his bodily *life*.

The ſtate of Iſrael unparlleld.

The puniſhments of Chriſt ſorer then the puniſhments of Moſes.

Peace. Now whereas the diſcuſſer added, That dead men cannot

not die, nor be infected with false *doctrine*, and such is the *State* of all men, all *nations*, all the *world* over, until the *life* of *Christ Jesus* quicken them; Master *Cotten* replies,

" First, Dead men may be made worse, and more the children " of *hell* then before, *Mat.* 23. and therefore such as so corrupt " them, are worthy in a way of due proceeding of a twofold " death.

" Secondly, Such as profess the truth of the *doctrine* and wor- " ship of *Christ*, they live a kind of *spiritual life*, though not " such as accompany *salvation*, else how are false *teachers*, and " such as are *led* by them, said to be twice dead, pluckt up by " the *roots*, *Jud.* 12.

Truth. Dead men may be made worse, that is, more to rot and stink; yet this is no taking away of any *life*. And therefore there is no proportionable reason, why the *seducers* should suffer a *temporal death*, having neither taken away *spiritual* nor *natural life*; only thus he may be justly liable to a *spiritual death*, for endeavouring to hinder a *spiritual life*, by furthering any in their natural state of *spiritual death*. *Of Seducing.*

2. For that place of *Iude*, Master *Cotton* knows that *Beza* propounds two senses. *What meant by twice dead.*

First, Twice dead, that is a certaine number for an uncertaine.

Secondly, This sence urged by Master *Cotton*, which if it be to be admitted, yet is it but in appearance, as his *life* which in *hypocrisie* he professed, was but in shew and appearance, he being never raised up from the *spiritual death* to a *spiritual life*, and therefore really never suffered the loss of a *spiritual life*, which he never had: And yet as in *typical Israel*, it stood with *Gods justice* to take away the *life* of the *seducer*, which seduced an *Israelite* from the *God* of *Israel*, or but attempted to do it: so stands it with the holy *justice* of *God*, to cut him off eternally, who but attempteth to take away or hinders the *spiritual* and *eternal life* of any.

Peace. Master *Cotton* in the next place presumes on advantage that the discusser should say, that none are infected with *natural plagues* or *spiritual*, but such are thereto appointed, *&c.*

Truth.

Truth. It is plaine that the discusser alleadged not that, to diminish or lessen sin (let it have its due *aggravation*) but as was said before in case of the not final deceiving of the *elect*, so was it here spoken not to derogate from *Gods meanes* and *remedies* against *natural* or *spiritual infection*, but to abate the needless feares of men, who are apt to cry out, Except the *civil sword* be drawn (and so therewith the *world* set together by the *eares*) the *world* cannot be preserved from *infection*.

Peace. Whereas the discusser had affirmed, that *Christ Jesus* had not left his people destitute of *spiritual means* against *spiritual infections*; This is true (saith Master *Cotton*) but it falleth out sometimes, that when the *church* hath cast out an *heretick*, yet he may destroy the *faith* of many, as did *Hymeneus* and *Philetus* (2 *Tim.* 2. 17.) and if the *Magistrates* sword do here rust, *&c.* such *leaven* may leaven the whole *country* &c. as *Arrianisme* leavened the *world* by *Constantines* indulgence.

Againe, saith he, it may be the *heretick* was never a member of the *church*; how then shall the *church* do?

Truth. Who can marvel at this, that the *dunghill* of this *world*, worldly men under the power of *Satan*, unto whom the obstinate person the *heretick* is cast, I say, that they, many of them, receive *worldly doctrine*, which the *church* as filth casts out? *&c.*

2. As *Paul* saith concerning the *salvation* of *Gods children*: Let the world perish; yet the foundation of *God* remaineth sure, he knows who are his, and how to provide meanes to save them, though the world still act it self, wallowing and tumbling (like *Swine*) in one puddle of *wickedness* after another.

Of Infection.

3. Master *Cotton* should read a little further in the same *Scripture* quoted by him, where he finds not a tittle of *Pauls* directing *Timothy* to stir up the *secular power* (as the *Pope* speakes) to cut off *Hymeneus* and *Philetus*, to prevent *infection*; but tels him, that the servants of *God* must not strive, but must quiet themselves with *patience*, waiting if peradventure *God* will please to give *repentance*.

Peace. Methinks this Answer may also fully satisfie his second *supposition*, to wit, if that the *heretick* was never of the *church*.

Truth.

Truth. Yea what hath the *church* to do (that is, judicially) with him that is without? and what hath the *civil state* to judge him for, who in *civil matters* hath not transgrest? In vaine therefore doth Master *Cotton* suggest a persecuting or hunting after the *souls* or lives of such, as being cast out of the *church*, keep private *conventicles*, &c.

Peace. How grievous is this *language* of Master *Cotton*, as if he had been nourished in the *chappels* and *cloisters* of *persecuting prelates*, and *priests*, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*? As if he never had heard of *Jesus Christ* in truth and meekness: For surely (as the discusser observed) *Christ Jesus* never appointed the *civil sword* an *Antidote* or *remedy* in such a case, notwithstanding Master *Cotton* replies that the *civil sword* was appointed a *remedy* in this case, by *Moses*, not *Christ*, *Deut.* 13.

Truth. *Moses* in the *old Testament* was *Christs* servant, yet *Moses* being but a servant, dispensed his power by carnal *rites* and *ceremonies*, *laws*, *rewards* and *punishments* in that holy *nation*, and that one land of *Canaan*: But when the *Lord Jesus* the *Son* and *Lord* himself was come, to bring the *truth*, and *life*, and *substance* of all those *shadowes*, to break down the *partition-wall* between *Jew* and *Gentile*, and to establish the *Christian worship* and *kingdome* in all *Nations* of the *world*, Master *Cotton* will never prove from any of the *books* and *institutions* of the New *Testament*, that unto those *spiritual remedies* appointed by *Christ Jesus* against *spiritual maladies*, he added the help of the *carnal sword*.

Peace. But Christ (saith Master *Cotton*) never abrogated the *carnal sword* in the new, which he appointed in the *old Testament*, and the reason of the *law*, to wit, an offence of thrusting away from the *Lord*, is perpetual.

Truth. If it appear (as evidently it doth) that this king (*Jesus* the *King of Israel*, wears his *sword* (the *Antitype* of the *Kings* of *Israel* their *swords*) in his mouth, being a sharpe two-edged sword, then the answer is as clear as the *Sun*, that scatters the clouds and darkeness of the night.

The sword of typical Israel a type of Christs spiritual sword.

Besides, Master *Cotton* needs not flie to the *Popes argument* for *childrens baptisme*, to wit, to say that *Christ* never abrogated *Deut.* 13. therefore, *&c.* For Master *Cotton* knows the *profession*

on of the *Lord Jesus*, *Iohn* 18. that his *kingdome* was not earthly, and therefore his sword cannot be earthly: Master *Cotton* knows that *Christ Iesus* commanded a *sword* to be put up when it was drawn in the cause of *Christ*, and addeth a dreadful *threatning*, that all that take the sword (that is the *carnal sword* for his *cause*) shall perish by it.

Peace. And for the perpetuity of the *reason* of the *law*, you formerly fully satisfied, that even in the dayes of *grace*, for him that shall thrust away an *Israelite* from his *God*, there is upon his *obstinacy* a greater punishment beyond all imagination (to wit, a spiritual cutting off from the *land* of *Canaan*) then under *Moses*, which was but from the *temporall*, the *type* and *shadow*.

But Master *Cotton* proceedeth, alleadging, that the *Minister* of *God* must have in a readiness to execute *vengeance* on him that doth *evil*; and *evil* it is (saith he) to *thurst* away *Gods* people from him.

Magistrates cannot receive from the people a spiritual power.

Truth. Every *lawful Magistrate*, whether succeeding or elected, is not only the *Minister of God*, but the *Minister* or servant of the people also (what *people* or *nation* soever they be all the world over) and that *Minister* or *Magistrate* goes beyond his *commission*, who intermeddles with that which cannot be given him in *commission* from the people, unless Master *Cotton* can prove that all the people and inhabitants of all *nations* in the *world* have *spiritual power*, *Christs power*, *naturally*, *fundamentally* and *originally* residing in them (as they are people and *inhabitants* of this world) to rule *Christs Spouse* the *church*, and to give spiritual power to their officers to exercise their *spiritual laws* and commands; otherwise it is but prophaning the holy name of the most *high*. It is but flattering of *Magistrates*, it is but the accursed trusting to an *arme* of *flesh*, to perswade the *rulers* of the *earth*, that they are *Kings* of the *Israel* or *church* of *God*, who were in their *institutions* and *government* immediately from *God*, the *rulers* and *gavernors* of his holy *church* and people.

Peace. Grant (saith Master *Cotton*) that the *evil* be spiritual, and concern the inner man, and not the *civil state*, yet that evill will be destructive to such a *City*, it shall not rise up the second time, *Nahum*.1.9.

Truth. Although that it pleaseth *God* sometimes to bring a people

people to utter *destruction* for their *idolatry* against himself, and *cruelty* against his people; yet we see the Lord doth not presently and instantly do this, but after a long course of many *ages* and *generations*, as was seen in *Nineve* her self, and since in *Athens*, *Constantinople*, and *Rome* both *Pagan* and *Antichristian*. And therefore the example here by Master *Cotton* produced, gives not the least colour of *warrant* for the *civil state* presently and immediately to execute vengeance for *idolatry* or *heresie* upon *persons* or *Cities* now all the world over, as he gave commandment to that *typical nation* of *Israel*, which is now also to be fulfilled spiritually upon the *spiritual Israelite*, or *Israelitish City*, a *particular church* or people falling away from the *living God* in *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. Whereas it was said by the discusser, that the *civil Magistrate* hath the charge of the *bodies* and *goods* of the subjects, and the *spiritual officers* of the *church* or *kingdome* of *Christ*, the charge of their *souls* and soul safety, Master *Cotton* answers, First, If it were so that the *civil Magistrate* had the charge of the *bodies* and *goods* onely of the subject, yet that might justly excite to watchfulness against such *pollution* of *religion* as tends to *apostacy*, for *God* will visit *city* and *country* with publike *calamity*, if not with *captivity*, for the *churches* sake. The *idolatry* and *worship* of *Christians* (saith he) brought the *Turkish captivity* upon the *citys* and *countries* of *Asia*.

The charge of the civil Magistrate.

Truth. By *soul* and *soul* safety, I think Master *Cotton* understands the same with the *discusser*, to wit, the *matters* of *religion* and *spiritual worship*. If the *Magistrate* hath received any such *charge* or *commission* from *God* in *spiritual* things, doubtless (as before) the people have received it *originally* and *fundamentally* as they are a people: But now if neither the *nations* of the *world*, as peoples and *nations*, have received this *power originally*, and *fundamentally*; nor can they derive it *Ministerially*, to their *civil officers* (by what name or *title*, high or low, soever they be distinguished) Oh what *presumption*, what *prophaning* of *Gods* most holy name, what *usurpation* over the *souls* and *consciences* of men, though it come under the *vaile* or *vizard* of saving the *City* or *kingdome*, yea of *saving* of *souls*, and honoring of *God* himself?

Beside, *God* is not wont to visit any *country* or people in general for the sin of his people, but for their own *idolatries* and *cruelty* toward his people, as all *histories* will prove. And for this instance of the *Turkes*, I say it was not the *idolatry* and *image-worship* alone of the *Antichristians*, but joyned with their other sins, which brought *Gods* vengeance by the *Turks* upon them as was said above, from *Revel. 9.* and especially their *Antichristian* cruelty grounded upon this bloody *doctrine* of *persecution*.

The plague of the Turkes.

Both these *Antichristian states*, and since also the *Turkish Monarchy*, have flourished many *generations* in external and outward prosperity and glory, notwithstanding their *religion* is false, and although it is true, that in the time and period appointed, all *nations* shall drink of the cup of *Gods* wrath, for their *nationall* sins, both against the first and second table, in matters concerning *God* and man.

Peace. How satisfie you Master *Cottons* second answer or question, to wit. Did ever *God* commit the charge of the *body* to any *Governor*, to whom he did not commit in his way the care of their *souls* also?

Truth. There is a twofold care and charge of *souls* manifested in holy Scripture.

First, That which in common belongs to all, to love our neighbor as our selves, to endeavor the present and eternal *welfare* both of *superiors*, *inferiors*, *equals*, *friends* and *enemies*; and this by *prayers*, *exhortations*, *reproofs*, *examples* of *justice*, *loving kindness*, *sobriety*, *godliness* &c.

A twofold care and charge of souls.

But what is this to the second *charge* by way of *office*, which in the *old Testament* was given not only to *Priests* and *Levites*, but to the *governors* and *rulers* of the *Iewish state*: of which *state* (being mixed of *spiritual* and *civil*) they were the *head* and *governors*, as it was *Israel*, a *nation* of *worshippers* of the true *God*: And therein were they the *types* and *forerunners* of *Christ Jesus* the true *King* of *Israel*, as he is called, *Joh.* 1. The cure and charge of souls, now (saith Master *Cotton*) in this Chapter, belongeth by vertue of *office* to the *spiritual officers* of *Christs kingdom*: I add, and during the *desolation* of *Zion*, and the time of the *apostacy* from *Christs visible kingdome*, belongeth to the two *Prophets* and *witnesses* of *truth*, Rev. 11. but not to the *kings*, *rulers*, *nations*

Christ the true King of Israel.

nations; and *civil states* of the *world*, who can be no true *parallel* or *antitype* to the *Israel* or people of *God*.

Peace. Master *Cotton* objects *Iehosaphat* sent abroad *preachers* throughout all the *Cities* of *Judah*; and if that were a *type* of *Christ*, it were to act that now, which typed out *Christ*, and he fulfilled in his own person.

Truth. Christ Jesus sends out *preachers* three waies.

First, In his own *person*, as the twelve and the seventy.

Christs threefold sending of preachers.

Secondly, By his *visible, kingly power*, left in the hand of his true *churches*, and the *officers* and *governers* thereof: In which sence that *church* of *Antioch*, and the *governors* thereof, rightly invested with the *kingly* power of *Christ Jesus*, sent forth *Paul* and *Barnabas* with *prayer* and *fasting*, and laying on of *hands*: And *Paul* and others of *Christs messengers*, being furnished with this kingly power, not only *planted churches*, but also ordained *elders* visited these *churches* or visible *cities of Judah*; that knowledge and teaching, and the *word* of *God* might dwel plenteously among them.

Thirdly, *Christ Iesus* as *king* of his *church*, and *head* of his *body*, during the *distractions* of his *house* and *kingdome* under *Antichrists apostacy*, immediately by his own holy Spirit, stirs up and sends out those fiery *witnesses* (*Rev.* 11.) to testifie against *Antichrist* and his several *abominations*: For as for lawful *calling* to a true ordinary *Ministery*, neither *Wickliff* in *England*, nor *Waldin* in *France*, nor *Iohn Hus* and *Ierome* of *Prange* in *Bohemia*, nor *Luther* in *Germany*, nor multitudes more of famous *preachers* and *prophets* of *Christ*, both in these *countries*, and also in *Spaine*, *Italy* &c. I say, no true ordinary Ministerial calling can they ever shew; but Christ Jesus by the secret motion of his own holy *Spirit* extraordinarily excited, incouraged and sent them abroad as an *Angel* or *messenger* (*Rev.* 14.) with the *everlasting Gospel* &c.

No other true office of the Ministery, since the apostacie, but that of prophecy and opening the Testament of Christ against the falshood of Antichrist.

Peace. To apply these three wayes, or any of them, to the civil *Magistrates* and *rulers* of the *world* (of whom *Iehosaphat* in that his act should be a *type*) is but to prophane the holy name of *God*, to leane upon and idolize an *arme* of *flesh*, &c.

Truth. I grant, the *civil Magistrate* is bound to countenance the true *Ministers* of *Christ Iesus*, to incourage, protect,

and defend them from injuries, but to send them armed (as the *Popes Legats* and *Priests*) with a *sword* of *steel*, and to compel people to hear and obey them, this savours more of the spirit of the *Pope*, his courses and practises, Yea of *Mahomet* his *Mussel-men*, *Dirgies*, &c. then the *Lambe* of *God* and his *followers*.

Peace. What *Iehosophat*, *Asa*, *Hezekiah*, *Iosiah*, &c. did, they did not only by *perswasion*, *countenance*, *example* (by which all are bound to further the *preaching* of *Christ Iesus*) but also by force of *armes* and *corporal punishments*.

Truth. Yea even to the death it self: and this is not a bare sending out of *Ministers* (as Master *Cotton* gives the instance:) For by his argument, all *rulers*, *kings*, and *Emperors*, and other *states* of the world ought to embrue their hands in the blood of the many *thousands* and *millions* of *millions* of the poor people, if they forsake not their *idolatry* and embrace the *religion* which they say is *Christian* and the only true.

Peace. No, saith Master *Cotton*, this ought not to be, because only *gedly* and truly *Christian Magistrates* may so put forth this power of *Christ*; others must stay until they be informed.

Truth. Can it enter into any *Christian* heart, to believe, that *Christ Jesus* should so loosly provide for his *affaires*, so slightly for his *name* and *Fathers work* and so regardlesly for his dearest *Spouse*, as to leave so high a *care* and *charge* with such as (generally and constantly throughout the *whole world*) are ignorant of, yea and opposite to the very name of *Christ* and true *Christianity*?

A foule imputation put upon Christ Jesus.

Peace. Surely if this *payment* were offered to the *governour* (as *Malachy* saith) to the *world*, or *governments* of it, it would not pass.

Truth. I never knew a *king* or *captaine councellor* or *constable*, officers of high or low condition, rightly called according to to *God*, who were not invested with *ability* more or less for the *maine* and *principal* points of their charge and duty.

Peace. It seemes indeed a marvelous, and yet it is Master *Cottons*) *conclusion*, that such *Magistrates*, yea all or most of the *Magistrates* that ever have been since *Christ*, and now extant

upon

upon the face of the earth, must sit down, stay and suspend, and that all their life long, from the executing of the maine and principal part of their *office*, to wit, in *matters* concerning the *conscience*, *religion*, and *worship*, of the people.

Truth. Yea (Secondly) in a due survey of the whole *universe* and *globe* of this world, will one of a thousand or ten thousand (according to Master *Cottons* disabling of them from the chief part of their *office*) be found, I will not say fit to be, but to be at all lawful *civil Magistrates* or *rulers* according to *Gods ordinance* of *Magistracy*, but meer *shadows* or *images* set on high with empty *names* or *titles* only of *Magistrates*?

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds, Although the good of souls is the proper or adequate object of the *spiritual officers* of *Christ*, and the *bodies* and *goods* of the people, the proper or adequate *object* of the *civil Magistrate*; yet in *order* to the *good* of their *souls*, he ought to procure *spiritual helpes*, and to prevent *spiritual evils*.

Truth. I reply, If he mean (as it is clear he doth) that the civil *Magistrate* ought to do this not only as a *Christian* by *spiritual meanes*, but as a *civil Magistrate* by *force* of *armes*, It is not in *order*, but monstrous *disorder*, for then he (the *civil Magistrate*) must sit *Judge* (judicially and formally) in those *spiritual causes* and cases, which Master *Cotton* grants are proper and adequate *objects* of the *spiritual officers* which *Christ* hath appointed.

Pretended order, monstrous disorder.

Peace. Yea, why may not (saith Master *Cotton*) the *Magistrate* use his power (spiritually) in order to the good of *bodies*, as the *officers of Christ* dehort from *idleness* and *intemperance* of meats and drinks *&c.* in order to the *good* of *souls*?

Truth. The *spiritual officers* in dehorting from these *evils* or any other of that kind, interfere not, nor take cognizance of that which belongs not to their *spiritual court*; for *holiness* in all manner of *conversation* is the *circle* wherein they ought to see all their *spiritual subjects* to walk. If the *spirtual officers* should cause by force of *armes* their people to walk justly, temperately, *&c.* as Master *Cotton* saith the *civil Magistrate* in order to the good of *bodies* ought to deal in *spiritual* and *soul*-matters, I say then the *eyes* of the *civil Magistrate* would begin to open

and

and to ſee the horrible *diſorder* and *Babyloniſh confuſion* of that which is here masked under the abuſed name of *order.*

Peace. Maſter *Cotton* cloſeth up this *chapter* with very bitter cenſures againſt the diſcuſſer.

Truth. The diſcuſſer may well reply, that although ſince the *apoſtacy* he ſees not the *viſible thrones* and *tribunals* of *Chriſt Jeſus* (according to his firſt *inſtitution*) erected, and although the *civil Magiſtrate* hath not the power of *Chriſt* in *matters* of *religion,* yet they that ſlay the *Lords ſheep* are not exempted from all *judgement*: For, if the *offenders* ſlay them *corporally*, the *Lord* hath armed the *civil Magiſtrate* with the *ſword* of *God* to take vengeance on them. In which reſpect *God* hath crowned the *ſupreame court* of *Parliament* with everlaſting honour, in breaking the jaws of the oppreſſing Biſhops, *&c.* Oh that ſuch glorious *Juſtice* may not be blemiſhed, by erecting in their ſtead a more *refined,* but yet as cruel an *Epiſcopacy.*

The Parliaments high juſtice aggainſt oppreſſors.

2. If the offence be of a *ſpiritual nature*, is there no *ſpiritual way* of *judging*, except the *church* of *Chriſt* be granted *viſible* during *Antichriſts Apoſtacy*? Hath not *Chriſt Jeſus* given *power* to his two prophets (even all the *Raigne* of the *Beaſt*) to ſpeak *fire*, *Revelations* the 11. to ſhut up *heaven*, to turn the *waters* into *blood*, to ſmite the *earth* with all manner of *plagues*, and this untill the time of the finiſhing of their *prophecie* or *Teſtimony*, when their great *ſlaughters* ſhall prepare the way for the downfal of *Antichriſt* and their own moſt glorious *raiſing* and *exaltation*?

There was no Chapter 34 (which probably was Maſter *Cottons* overſight, or the Printers) therefore I paſs to Chapter 35.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. XXXV.

Peace.

HEre, whereas it was said, if it were the *Magistrates* duty or office to punish *hereticks* &c. then he is both a *temporal* and *Ecclesiastical officers:* Master *Cotton* answers, It follows not: except the *Magistrate* were to punish with *Ecclesiastical* censures, his punishment is meerly *civil*, whether *imprisonment*, *banishment*, or *death*.

Truth. I reply, first, the *statutes* of the *English nation*, and the *oath* of *supremacy*, have proved the *Kings* and *Queens* of *England heads* and *governors* of the *church* of *England*: And if to be an *head* or *governor* be not an *office*, let Master *Cotton* be againe requested to ponder the *instance* given, which he passeth by in silence; deny it ingenuously he cannot, and to justifie it I hope his *light* from *heaven* will not suffer him, although yet he would faine excuse it, by saying, they punish only with *civil punishment*, *imprisonment*, *banishment* or *death*. Therefore,

The title head of the church.

2. Here lies the *mystery* of *iniquity*, and the *Babel* and *confusion* of it, that either according to *Popish Tenents* the *kings* of the earth must give their power to the *beast*, and enslave themselves under the name and vizard of the *secular power* to be the Popes *executioners*, or according to *Protestant Tenents*, to wit, that *Kings* and *Governours* be *heads* of the *church* and yet be furnished with no *Church-power* nor *spirituall* censures.

Peace. It would be thought some *mystical* and *monstrous* thing, that *Kings* and *Governors* should be obliged to act in *civil Judicature*, and yet be furnished with no *civil power*, but ought to punish onely with *spirituall* or *Church-censures*.

Truth. The blinde and the lame mans robbing the Orchard is here verified. The Minister (though a blindeguide) he is the seer, but wanting legs and strength of civil power, he is carried upon the civil Magistrates shoulders, whose blindness the subtle Clergy abuseth, *&c.* but both together, rob the Orchard of the most high and sure-avenging *God*.

Truth.

The civil Magistrate no spiritual officer, now as in Israel.

Truth. I conceive it true, that the *Kings* and *Governors* of the *national church* of *Israel* had a *national power*; and had the *Lord Jesus* been pleased to have continued *national churches*, the *Kings* and *governors* of such *states* might well (as they of *Israel* were) have been both *Temporal* and *Ecclesiastical officers.*

Peace. But now the *Lord Jesus* abolishing that *national state*, and instituting and appointing his *worshippers* and *followers* to be the *Israel of God*, the holy *nation* and proper *Antitype* of the former *Israel*; it seems most *unchristian*, that either the *work* or the *title* should remaine, whether with open or a masked face or vizard.

Truth. Therefore as it pleased *God* in wonderful *wisdome* and inconceiveable depths of councel for a while to continue a *national church national covenant* &c. and to take them away as unsufficient, beggarly, and weak, either for the further advancement of his own *glory*, or *salvation* of men: so hath he taken away the *administration* thereof by *carnal weapons*, *armes* of *flesh* &c. In stead of *fire* and *sword*, and *stoning* the *opposites* in stead of *imprisonment*, *banishment death*, he hath appointed *exhortations*, *reprehensions*, *denunciations*, *excommunications*, and together with *preaching*, patient *waiting*, if *God* peradventure will give *repentance.*

The peoples power.

Lastly, If the *civil Magistrate* must imprison and banish, and put to death in *spiritual cases*; and the *civil Magistrate*, is but a *Minister* or servant of the people (and so of *God*) and if the people make the *laws*, and give the *Magistrate* his *commission* and power; doth it not follow by this *doctrine*, that the people of the *nations* of the *world* are *fundamentally* and *originally* both *Temporal* and *Ecclesiastical*? And then what is become of the *foundations* of the *Christian faith*? And also are not hereby the *people* and *nations* of the *world* (whatever care be had to the contrary to restraine) incouraged, according to their several *consciences*, I say encouraged and hardened in their bloody *wars*, *imprisonings*, *banishings*, and putting to death for cause of *conscience*?

Peace. Whereas it was said to be *Babel* or *confusion*, for the *church* to punish the offences of such as are not within its *jurisdiction* with *spiritual censures*, or the *civil state spiritual offences*

fences with *corporal* or *temporal weapons*, Master *Cotton* answers, No *confusion*, for so *Paul* directs the *church* of *Corinth*.

Truth. That very *Parenthesis* which Master *Cotton* stumbleth at, takes away his answer. For as it would be confusion for the *church* to censure such *matters*, and of such persons as belong not to the *church*: So is it *confusion* for the *state* to punish *spiritual offenders*, for they are not within the *sphear* of a *civil jurisdiction*. The *body* or *Commonweal* is meerly *civil*, the *Magistrate* or *head* is a *civil head*, and each *member* is a *civil member*: and so far forth as any of this *civil body* are spiritual, or act spiritually, they and their actions fall under a *spiritual cognizance* and *judicature*.

All Commonweals that ever have been, are or shal be in the World (excepting that of typical Israel) meerly civil.

Peace. The *reason* (saith Master *Cotton*) is the same, for there be offences which tend to provoke *wrath* against the *civil state*, *Ezra* 7. Why should there be *wrath* against the *king* or his *sons?*

Truth. This reason indeed Master *Cotton* often inculcates and beates upon it, that the *Pagan kings* of *Persia* were of his mind: I believe Master *Cotton* out of a *zeal* to *God*, but the *Pagan kings* out of a slavish *terror*, which never prevailed so far (that I know of) as to bring them to a kindly *repentance* of their own *idolatries*, or a true *love* to the *God* of *Israel* or his *people*.

The Decrees of Pagan kings for Israel, and the God of it, considered.

Peace. However your former answer is to me *sufficient*; to wit, that thousands of famous *Towns*, *Cities* and *Kingdomes* have flourished in *peace* and *tranquillity* for many ages and generations, where *God* hath had no house, and not only where it was by the *civil state* neglected but also wholly persecuted.

Truth. In the time appointed and full *ripeness* of their *sins*, the *vengeance* of *God* (after *patience* many *generations* abused) hath surely and fearefully visited, yet in the *interim*, it is clear it is no ground of a necessity of present punishing of false *worshippers* and *idolaters*, least present *wrath* fall upon the *King* or his *Son*.

Peace. Now whereas it was said an intollerable *burthen* laid upon the *Magistrates* back, together with the care of the *Commonweal* to be charged also with the *spiritual*, &c. Master *Cotton* answers, 1. That the *Magistrate* ought to seek out meanes

The Ministers lay heavy loads upon the Magistrates back.

of *grace* for the people. 2. To remove *idolatry* and *idolatrous Teachers.* 3. It is commonly added, that he ought to preserve the *church* pure by *reformation.*

Truth. I reply, This *work* charged upon the *kings, governors,* and *Magistrates* in the *world,* makes the weight of their *care* and charge far greater, then ever was the charge of the *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah,* For their people were miraculously brought into *covenant* with *God,* to their hands, like a *bridge,* or *house,* or ship ready built; and needed only keeping up in *reparation*: yea an heavier *yoak,* then either their or our *fathers* were able to bear, considering all the several different *consciences, religions*, and *worships* of all mankind naturally, and the many different *opinions, factions,* and *sects,* which daily do arise, and that conscientiously and zealously unto death: All these must by Master *Cottons doctrine*) lie before the *bar,* beside all *civil cases,* &c.

Peace. Tis memorable that P*aul* himself, that had the care of all the *churches,* would not be intangled with *civil affaires,* further then his own *necessities* did call for; and sometimes the *necessities* of his *companions*: but this yoak put upon the necks of *Magistrates,* is as full of temporal as spiritual care: And as it is impossible for them to bear, So the *Lord* in his holy *season,* may please to teach them (as he hath taught some already through his grace) to lay that spiritual Burthen upon the *shoulders* of their only King of *Saints Christ Jesus,* to whom the *supream power* and care of *souls* and *churches* doth alone belong.

Whereas it was further said, that the *Magistrate* is to cherish, and to cleave unto the *Saints,* and to defend them from *civil violence,* but the *spiritual* care of them belongs to *spiritual officers* appointed by *Christ Jesus* to that end, Master *Cotton* replies, this is but a pretence, because the discusser acknowledgeth no *churches* extant, *&c.*

Truth. Although amongst so many pretending *churches,* the discusser be not able to satisfie himself in the rightly gathering of the Churches, according to the true *order* of *Christ Jesus,* yet this is far from a pretence, because the *institution* of any *state government, order,* &c. is one thing, and the *administra-*

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tion and *execution*, which may be interrupted and eclipsed, is another.

Peace. Indeed *Ieremy* could not rightly have been judged a pretender, when he mourned for, and lamented the *desolations* of the *temple, priests, elders, altar, sacrifice*,&c. and neither he nor *Daniel*, nor any of *Gods prophets* or *servants*, could (during the time of the *desolation* and *captivity*) acknowledge either *temple*, or *altar*, or *sacrifice* right, extant upon the face of the *earth*.

A time when no visible Church of God in the world for the right forme and order,&c.

Truth. He that saith the *Sun* (*Christ Jesus*) is not to be seen in our *Horizon* or *Hemisphere*, in his absence, or when he suffers an *Eclipse*, cannot be said to deny that the *Lord Jesus* his holy ordinances ought to be *visible* in the *worship* and *service* of *God*: Although the discusser be not satisfied in the *period* of the *times*, and the manner of his glorious appearing, yet his *soul* uprightly desires to see and adore, and to be thankful to Master *Cotton*, yea to the least of the *disciples* of *Christ Jesus*, for any *coal* or *sparke* of true *light*, amongst so many false and pretended *candles* and *candlesticks*, pretending the glorious name of the *Lord Jesus Christ*.

Peace. Next, Master *Cotton* demands what *reason* can be given, why the *Magistrate* ought to break the teeth of *lyons* (ought to suppress such as offer *civil violence*) and not of the *Wolves*, that make havock of their *souls*, who are more mischievous then the *lyon*, as the *Pope* of *Rome*, then the *Pagan Emperors*? He wonders the discusser should favor the *Pope* more then the *Emperour*, except it be that he symbolizeth rather with *Antichrist* then with *Cæsar*.

Truth. It may here suffice to say two things (not to repeat other *passages*.)

First, The *civil state* and *Magistrate* are meerly and *essentially civil*; and therefore cannot reach (without the transgressing the bounds of *civility*) to judge in matters *spiritual*, which are of another *sphere* and *nature* then *civility* is: Now it is most just and proper, that if any member of a *civil body* be oppreft, the *body* should relieve it: As also it is just and proper, that the spirituall *state* or *body* should relieve the soul of any in that spiritual combination oppressed.

Therefore (Secondly) for *spiritual* and *religious* oppressions, the *king* of *kings Christ Iesus* hath sufficient providedly in his spiritual *kingdome*: therefore (*Acts* 20) *Paul* gives the charge against those *spiritual Wolves* to the *elders* of the *church* at *Ephesus*, and not to *civil Magistrates* of the *city*, which *Paul* should have done (notwithstanding they were *worshippers* of *Diana*) if it had been *their* duty to have broke the *teeth* of those spirituall *Wolves* &c.

The wolves at Ephesus, Act. 20.

Peace. It is (indeed) one thing to prohibite the *Pope*, the *prelates*, the *Presbyterians*, the *Independents*, or any from forcing any in the matters of their respective *consciences*, and accordingly to take the *sword* from such mens hands, or (as their executioners) to refuse to use it for them: It is another thing to leave them freely to their own *consciences*, to defend themselves as well as they can, by the two-edged sword of the *spirit*, which is the *word* of *God*, which all the several sorts of *pretenders* say they have received from *Iesus Christ*.

The duty of civil power in matters of Religion.

Truth. The renowned *Parliament* of *England* hath justly deserved a *crown* of *honour* to all *posterity*, for breaking the *teeth* of the *oppressing Bishops* and their *courts*; but to wring the *sword* out of the hands of a few *prelates*, and to suffer it (willingly) to be wrung out of their own hands, by many thousand *Presbyterians*, or *Independants*, what is it but to change one *wolfe* or *lyon* for another, or in stead of *one*, to let loose the *Dens* of thousands?

The changing of persecutors is onething, the abolishing of persecution another.

Peace. But why should Master *Cotton* insinuate the *discusser* to glance a more obsequious eye upon the *Pope*, then upon the *Emperor*?

Truth. I fear Master *Cotton* would create some evil opinion in the *heart* of the *civil Magistrate*, that the discusser is (as the *bloody Iews* told *Pilate*) no friend to *Cæsar*: whereas upon a due search it will be found clear as the light, that it is impossible that any that subscribe *ex animo* to the bloody Tenent of persecution, can (*ex animo*) be a *friend* to *Magistracy*. The reason is, all *persecutors*, whether *priests* or *people*, care onely for such *Magistrates* as suite the *end*, the great bloody *end* of *persecution*, of whom they either hope to borrow the *sword*, or whom they hope to make their *executioners*. Their very principles also (*Papist* and

The persecuting Cleargy no cordial friends to Magistracie.

and *Proteſtant*) lead them neceſſarily to diſpoſe and kill their *heretical, Apoſtate, blaſpheming Magiſtrates.*

Peace. But why ſhould Maſter *Cotton* inſinuate any affection in the diſcuſſer to that *Tyrant* of all earthly *Tyrants*, the *Pope?*

Truth. To my knowledge Maſter *Cotton* and others have thought the diſcuſſer too zealous againſt the bloody *beaſt*: yea, and who knows not this to be the ground of ſo much ſorrowful *difference* between Maſter *Cotton* and the diſcuſſer, to wit, that the diſcuſſer grounds his ſeparation from their *churches* upon their not ſeperating from that man of ſin? For Old *England* having compelled all to *church*, compel'd the *Papiſts*, and the *Pope* himſelf in them: The daughter *New England*, ſepararing from her *mother* in *Old England*, yet maintaines and practiſes communion with the *Pariſhes* in *Old*. Who ſees not then, but by the *links* of this *myſtical chaine*, *New England Churches* are ſtill faſtned to the *Pope* himſelf?

Neither Old nor New England ſtate-churches ſeparate from the Pope.

Peace. Maſter *Cottons* third *reply* is this, that it is not like that ſuch *Chriſtians* will be faithful to their *prince*, who grow falſe and diſloyal to their *God*, and therefore conſequently the *civil Magiſtrate* muſt ſee that the *church degenerate* and apoſtate not, at leaſt ſo far as to provoke *Chriſt* to depart from them.

Maſter Cotton and Bellarmine all one, for the depoſing heretical princes, &c.

Truth. This is indeed the down right moſt bloody and *Popiſh Tenent* of *perſecuting* the *degenerate*, *heretical* and *Apoſtate* people: of depoſing, yea and killing *Apoſtatical* and *heretical princee* and *rulers*.

The truth is, the great *Gods* of this world are *God-belly God-peace, God-wealth, God-honour, God-pleaſure* &c. Theſe *Gods* muſt not be blaſphemed, that is, evil ſpoke of, no not provoked, *&c.* The ſervants of the living *God* being true to their *Lord* and *Maſter*, have oppoſed his *glory*, *greatneſs*, *honour* &c. to theſe *Gods*, and to ſuch *religions*, *worſhips*, and *ſervices*, as commonly are made but as a *maſk* or *vaile*, or covering of theſe *Gods*.

The gods of this World.

Peace. I have long been ſatisfied, that hence proceeds the *madcry* of every *Demetrius* and *crafts-Maſter* of falſe *worſhip* in the *world*, *Great* is our *Diana*, &c. Theſe men blaſpheme our *goddeſs*, diſturbe our *City*, They are falſe to our *Gods*, how will they be true to us?

Hence

The Lord Cobham his troubles in Henry the 5. dayes.

Hence that bloody Act of *Parliament* in *Henry* the fifth his dayes made purposely against that true *servant* and *witness* of *God* (in those points of *Christianity* which he knew) and other servants of *God* with him, the Lord *Cobham*, concluding *Lollardy* not only to be *heresie*, (that is, indeed true *Christianity*) but also *treason* against the *Kings person*: whence it followed, that these poor *Lollards* (the *servants* of the most *high God*) were not only to be burnt as *hereticks*, but hanged as *traitors*.

The best of our late Bishops, as Bishop Hall have not spared to render hereticks and Traitors all one.

Truth. Accordingly it pleased God to honour that noble Lord *Cobham*, both with hanging and burning, as an *heretick* against the *church*, as a *traitor* against the *king*: And hence those divelish accusations and bloody huntings of the poor servants of *God* in the reign of *Francis* the second in *Paris*, because it was said, that their meetings were to cousult and act against the *life* of the *king*.

Civil society pluckt up by the rootes.

Peace. If this be the *touchstone* of all *obedience*, will it not be the *cut-throat* of all *civil relations*, *unions* and *covenants* between Princes and people, and between the people and people? For may not Master *Cotton* also say, he will not be a faithful *servant*, nor she a faithful *wife*, nor he a faithful *husband*, who grow false and disloyal to their *God*? And indeed what doth this, yea, what hath this truly-ranting doctrine (that plucks up all relations) wrought but confusion and combustion all the world over?

Civil honesty may stand with dishonesty against God and Christ in matters of Religion.

Truth. Concerning *faithfulness*, it is most true, that *godliness* is profitable for all things, all *estates*, all *relations*: yet there is a *civil faithfulness*, *obedience*, *honesty*, *chastity*, &c. even amongst such as own not *God* nor *Christ*: else *Abraham* and *Isaac* dealt foolishly to make *leagues* with ungodly *Princes*. Besides, the whole Scripture commands a continuance in all *Relations* of *government*, *marriage*, *service*, notwithstanding that the *grace* of *Christ* had appeared to some, and the rest (it may be an *husband*; a *wife*, a *Magistrate*, a *Master*, a *servant*) were false and disloyal in their several kinds and wayes unto *God*, or wholly ignorant of him.

4. Grant *people* and *Princes* to be like *Iulian*, *Apostate* from the true service of *God*, and consequently to grow less faithful in their places and respective services, yet what ground is there, from the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, upon this ground of their *Apostacie*,

ſtacie, to proſecute them, as Maſter *Cotton* ſaith, The *civil Magiſtrate* muſt keep the *church* from *Apoſtatizing* ſo, as to cauſe *Chriſt* to depart from them.

5. Can the *ſword* of *ſteel* or *arme* of *fleſh* make men faithful or loyal to *God?* Or careth *God* for the outward *Loyalty* or *Faithfullneſs*, when the *inward-man* is *falſe* and *treacherous?*

A turn-coat in Religion more faithleſs then a reſolved Jew, Turk or Papiſt.

Or is there not more danger (in all *matters* of *truſt* in this *world*) from an *hypocrite*, a *diſſembler*, a *turncoat* in his *religion* (from the *fear* or *favour* of men) then from a reſolved *Jew*, *Turke* or *Papiſt*, who holds firme unto his *principles*?&c.

Hereſie and apoſtacie often change their names to truth, and Chriſtianity,&c.

Or laſtly, if one *Magiſtrate*, *King* or *Parliament* call this or that *hereſie*, *apoſtacie*,&c. and make men ſay ſo, will not a ſtronger *Magiſtrate*, *King*, *Parliament*, *Army* (that is, a ſtronger *arm*, or longer and more proſperous *ſword*) call that *hereſie* and *Apoſtacie* *Truth* and *Chriſtianity*, and make men call it ſo? and do not all *experiences*, and our own moſt lamentable, in the changes of our *Engliſh Religions*, confirme this?

6. Laſtly, As carnal policy ever fals into the pit, it digs and trips up its own heels, ſo I ſhall end this *paſſage* with two *paradoxes*, and yet (dear *peace*) thou and I have found them moſt lamentably true in all ages.

Peace. *God* delights to befool the *wiſe* and *high* in their own *conceit* with *paradoxes*, even ſuch as the wiſdome of this world thinks *madneſs*: but I attend to hear them.

Who knows not that the many turnings of Do. Pearne in Cambridge, brought it into a proverb, to wit, to pernifie.

Truth. First then, The ſtraining of mens *cinſciences* by *civil power*, is ſo far from making men faithful to *God* or man, that it is the ready way to render a man falſe to both: my ground is this: *civil* and *corporal puniſhment* do uſually cauſe men to play the *hypocrite*, and diſſemble in their *Religion*, to turn and return with the tide, as all *experience* in the *nations* of the *world* doth teſtifie now.

Conſciences yeelding to be forced or raviſhed, looſen all conſcience.

This *binding* and *rebinding* of *conſcience*, contrary or without its own *perſwaſion*, ſo weakens and defiles it, that it (as all other *facultiies*) loſeth its ſtrength, and the very nature of a common honeſt *conſcience*: Hence it is, that even our own hiſtories teſtifie, that where the *civil ſword*, and carnal power, hath made a change upon the *conſciences* of men, thoſe *conſciences* have been given up,

not

not only to spiritual, but even to *corporal filthiness*, and bloody, and mad oppressing each other, as in the *Marian* bloody times *&c.*

Peace. Indeed no people so inforced as the *Papists* and the *Mahumetans*: and no people more filthy in soul and body, and no people in the *world* more *bloody* and *persecuting*: but I listen for your second *paradox*.

Truth. Secondly. This *Tenent* of the *Magistrates* keeping the *church* from *Apostatizing*, by practising *civil force* upon the *consciences* of men, is so far from preserving *Religion* pure, that it is a mighty *Bulwark*, or *Barricado* to keep out all true *Religion*, yea and all *godly Magistrates* for ever coming into the *World*.

2 Paradoxes.

Peace. Doubtless this will seem a hard *riddle*, yet I presume not too hard for the fingers of *time* and *truth* to unty, and render easie.

Truth. Thus I unty it: If the *civil Magistrate* must keep the *church* pure, then all the *people* of the *Cities*, *Nations*, and *kingdomes* of the *world* must do the same much more, for primarily and fundamentally they are the *civil Magistrate*: Now the world (saith *John*) lyeth or is situated in *wickedness*, and consequently according to its disposition endures not the *light* of *Christ*, nor his golden *candlestick*, the true *Church*, nor easily chooseth a true *Christian* to be her *officer* or *Magistrate*, for she accounts such false to her *Gods* and *Religion*, and suspects their faithfulness *&c.*

Peace. Hence indeed is it (as I now conceive) that so rarely this *world* admitteth or not long continueth a true servant of *God* in any place of *trust* nnd *credit*, except some extraordinary hand of *God* over-power, or else his servants by some base *staires* of *Flattery* or worldly *compliance*, ascend the chaire of *Civil-power*.

But (to proceed) saith Master *Cotton*, "It was the duty of *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah* &c. to reduce the people of *Israel* from "their backslidings, because they were an holy people, and is it not "the duty of godly Princes to reduce their backsliding Churches to "their primitive purity? It is true (saith he) *David* and *Solomon* "were types of *Christ*, but so were not the other Kings of Israel "and

" and *Judah*, who were the one (the kings of *Israel*) all Apo-
" states; and the other (the kings of *Judah*) many of them Apo-
" state from Christ: And Secondly, If they were (saith he) all
" types of Christ, yet Christ being the Antitype, Christ hath aboli-
" shed them all, and so it were sacriledge or Antichristian usur-
" pation for any king to be set over Christians: Or if they were
" types of Christ in respect of their kingly office over the Church
" alone was it typical in *Solemon* to put *Joab* a murtherer to death,
" or *Adonijah* a traitor? and so consequently unlawful for Chri-
" stian Princes to put murtherers and traitors to death? Further,
" saith he, What those kings might do in type, Christ Jesus might
" much more do in his own person, as the Antitype: but he put no
" man to death in his own person, and therefore they were not types
" but servants of Christ, and paterns and examples to Christian Ma-
" gistrates, yea, *Ahab*, who should have put *Benhadad* to death
" for his blasphemy.

How the kings of Israel and Judah were types and figures of Christ to come.

Truth. I understand those *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, untill their *cutting* off or *excommunicating* out of the land of *Canaan*, to be yet *visible members* of the *church* of *Israel* and *Judah*, and as *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah types* of *Christ Jesus*, partly in his own *person*, who did that (being the true *spiritual king* of *Israel*) which they did or should have done, in that typical *national church* or land of *Israel*, and (2) partly in the *officers* of his *kingly power* and *government* of his *church*, which *officers* and *church* falling away, untill an absolute cutting off, are the *Antitypes* (in respect of visible government) of those former kings of *Israel* and *Judah*.

Peace. Can it be imagined that those wicked *Kings*, *Jeroboam*, *Baasha*, *Ahab* &c. were figures of *Christ Jesus*?

Truth. Master *Cotton* himself grants *David* and *Solomon types* of *Christ Jesus*, and yet, how abominable and monstrous some of their practices? we must therefore distinguish between their *persons*, and *sins*, and *frailties*.

As kings of *Israel* (*Gods* Church and *people*) doubtless they were the *figures of* (the *K.* of *Israel*) *Christ Iesus*: yea it is probable that the land of *Canaan*, with the *officers* and *governors* thereof, before *Christ* time, was but a figure of the *spiritual land* or *Christian church*, with the *officers*, *governors*, & *administrations* therof good

The types of the old Testament many and deep.

evil: Although the applying of the *times* and *persons* each to other requires a more then ordinary *guidance* of the finger or holy *Spirit* of *God*.

Cyrus called Christ, a figure of Christ.

Peace. I remember that some of eminent note for *knowledge* and *godlinesse* have not stuck to affirme, that the *Gentile* Prince *Cyrus* as he was called *Gods servant, anointed*, or *Christ* (*Isa.* 44) I say, that he in a respect, as a *restorer* of *Gods* people was a *figure of Christ Iesus*.

Truth. It is not improbable, but that the most holy and only wise (whose works are known unto *himself* from the beginning of the *world*) did by such famous *instruments* of *mercy* to the literal *Iew*, type out *Christ Iesus* and his heavenly *instruments*, mercy and goodness to the *mystical* and *spiritual, Christian Iews*, &c.

Examination of CHAP. XXXVI, and XXXVII.

Peace.

IN these passages Master *Cotton* first questions (having not his copy by him) the truth of some *expressions* printed as his.

Truth. It is at hand for Master *Cotton* or any to see that *copy* which he gave forth and corrected in some places with his own hand, and every word *verbatim* here published.

2. To the *answer* it self, or reproof of the *Lord Iesus* given to his *disciples* for their *bloody* and rash *zeal* desiring fire to come down from heaven, *&c.* we both agree, that *Christs* rebuking of his *disciples* did not hinder the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* from proceeding in a *Church-way* &c. 2. That false *persecution* in a *church-way* is as odious and dreadful a *persecution*, as any *prosecution* in a *court* of *civil justice*, as also that this is not the point intended, though it be reckoned up with the rest.

Peace. I marvel at that which follows, where Master *Cotton* saith, that it never fell from his pen in any writing of his, *viz.* that it is lawful for a *civil Magistrate* to inflict *corporal punishment* upon such as are contrary indeed in *matters of Religion*: and therefore he passeth by the *discussers reasons* as which might well have been spared, being brought but against a *shadow* of his own *fancy*.

Truth.

Truth. I am not able to imagine what Master *Cotton* meanes by such as are *contrary minded*, against whom he will not (in this Chapter) maintaine any *corporal punishment* to be inflicted, when in so many of his *writings*, and throughout his whole *book*, he maintaines *corporal punishment*, and that to death it self in many cases, against the *idolatrous*, the *blasphemous*, the *heretical*, the seducing, yea the *degenerate* and *Apostate*.

Peace. Love bids us take this passage as a pang of *reluctancy* (in his other wise-holy and peaceable breast) against such unholy *bloody Tenents*. *The fire from heaven*, Rev. 13

But what say you to the passage about the *second beast*, bringing *fire* from *heaven*? (*Rev.* 13.) This was no wonder (saith Master *Cotton*) for *Constantine* had done the like before to *hereticks*, the *Arrian Bishops* against the *Orthodox Saints*. Also, it is related as a different matter from the former (*vers.* 15.) that he had power to cause, that as many as would not worship the *image* of the *beast* should be killed. And this fire comes not down upon the *Saints*, but the *earth*.

Truth. Master *Cotton* I think knows that the discusser is not alone in this *interpretation*: If he propose any other more suitable to *Christ Iesus*, I hope the discusser desires thankfully to embrace it. But this *fire* being not *literal*, but *mystical*, in *imitation* of the true prophet *Elijah*, and also as the true *witnesses* cause *fiery judgements* descend from *heaven* upon the *enemies* of the *truth*: so the false *witnesses* cause *fire* to descend against the *faithful*: and sure it is (as the discusser related) that the *Popish Bishops* in *France*, and *England* and other places have ever constantly cryed out, that the *just judgements* of *God* are brought down by them upon the *hereticks*, which is no smal wonder that the *hearts* of the *sons* of *men* should be so hardened against the *light* of *truth* in *truths witnesses*, notwithstanding the acts of *Constantine* and the *Arrian* Bishops long before.

Peace. But this fire (saith Master *Cotton*) comes down from *heaven* upon the *earth*.

Truth. True, but it may well imply no more, then in the open view and *face* of all men in this world.

Peace. And lastly (saith he) it is said, that he causeth that as

as many as would not worship the *Image* of the *Beast* should be killed, which is a different effect.

Truth. Because it comes from a different *cause*, with respect, not to the first *Beast* himself, but only to his *picture* or *image*, and implies, that *fiery judgements* descend not onely upon such as refuse to worship the *first* or second *beast*, but the very picture of the *beast* likewise.

Examination of CHAP. XXXVIII.

Peace.

MAster *Cotton* here first observing the discussers agreement with him, that this instruction (2 *Tim.* 2.) to be meek and patient to all men, is properly directive to the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, he concludes that therefore hitherto his answer was not perplext and ravelled.

Truth. Many plaine threads may be drawn forth of a perplext and ravelled string, as it seemes to me the many *particulars* of *different natures* here wrapt up together were.

Peace. Yea, but he seems to disown those words [*unconverted Christians in Crete*) and more then once in the Chapter toucheth the discussers credit, *&c.*

Truth. I know the discusser desires unfainedly (with the *Lords assistance)* rather to die a thousand deaths, then willingly to impeach the least of *holy* or *civil truths*; and therefore affirmeth in this case, that at his pleasure the copy (not which he received from Master *Cotton* for there never passed such writings between them as Master *Cotton* often affirmeth, but) which he received from another, with the correction of Master *Cottons* own hand to it, shall be ready for himself or any to view.

All Truth, heavenly, moral, civil, &c. precious.

Peace. However, Master *Cotton* maintaining the tearms of *unconverted converts* from *Ier.* 3.10. (*Judah* turned unto me, but not with all her heart, but fainedly:) so *Judas*, *Ananias*, and *Sapphira Balaam*, the *Nicolaitans*, *Iezabel* in *Thyatira*, as also the children of believing *parents* born in the *Church*, who though holy, yet cannot be conceived to be truely holy.

Truth. Were the *question* about *hypocrites*, *counterfeits* and *Tray-*

trayters in the *church* and *kingdome* of *Christ*, these words might here rightly be alleadged; but Master *Cottons* words being these [*unconverted Christians* in *Crete* whom *Titus* as an *Evangelist* was to seek and to convert] I conceive that Master *Cotton* will not affirm that the office of an *Evangelist* was to seek to convert the *church* (though possibly an *hypocrite* may be turned from his *hypocrisie* by an *Evangelist* or private man in the *church*.)

Unconverted Christians visibly a paradox.

2. He makes in the very words a *distinction* between these, *unconverted Christians*, and those *Iews* and *Gentiles* in the Church, who (saith he) though *carnal*, yet were not convinced of the *error* of their *way*.

And to conclude this Chapter, the discusser readily with thanks acknowledgeth Master *Cottons* words, that it is not probable that *Timothy* was now at *Ephesus*, and that the *subscription* added to the second Epistle of *Timothy* in the *English translation*, is justly to be suspected.

Examination of CHAP. XXXIX.

Peace.

MAster *Cotton* here argues, That if the *Magistrate* be a *Prophet*, and opposed in his *doctrine*, he ought (from this Scripture, 2*Tim*.2.) meekly to bear the *opposition*, waiting if *God* peradventure will give *repentance*; yet withal by the way he observeth, that if the *Magistrate* be a *prophet*, he may do some things as a *Magistrate*, which he may not do as a *Prophet*.

Many excellent Magistrates of the Parliament, of the Council, of the Army, of the City, of the Country, are also excellent prophets or interpreters of Scripture, & yet may not use a civil but a spiritual sword in spirituals.

Truth. Of this no *question*? but what is this to a coercive *Magisterial power* in *spiritual* things, which is the *question*?

2. Since that Master *Cotton* acknowledgeth that *Magistrates* may be *prophets*, and that divers *Magistrates* of *New English churches* have spoken as *prophets* (eminently able in their *churches*) what should be the reason (I ask by the way) that their *Churches* hear no more of such their *prophetical* gifts, but that their *talent's* wrapt up? *&c.*

Magistrates may be prophets in Christs Church.

Peace.

Peace. Of this let their *consciences* give account to *Jesus Christ*, whom they call the *King* of their *churches*, and the *fountaine* of such heavenly *abilities*: But to proceed, Master *Cotton* grants that *Magistrates* ought to bear in the *church oppositions* against their *prophecyings*, but not *continued* opposings nor seduings, *&c.*

Truth. What is then the waiting here commanded, until *God* peradventure will give *repentance*?

Peace. It is true (saith Master *Cotton*) it is not in the power of *man* to give *repentance*, but *God* alone: Neither is it in mans power (saith he) to give *repentance* to *scandalous* persons against the *civil state*; and yet the discusser acknowledgeth that the *civil Magistrate* ought to punish these.

More confidence commonly put in the civil sword then the spiritual.

Truth. It is not the *Magistrates* work and office in the *civil state*, to convert the *heart* in true *repentance* unto *God* and *Christ*: The *civil state* respecteth conformity and obedience to *civil laws*, though indeed the works and *office* of the *Ministers* of *Christ Jesus* are commonly laid upon the *Magistrates* shoulders, and they pretending themselves the *Ministers* of *Christ Jesus*, armed with the two-edged sword of the *Spirit* of *God* (the *Word* of *God*) do commonly flye unto and put more confidence in the *sword* of *steel* in the hand of their *civil Ministers*, the *Magistrates*.

Engl. changes in Religion excused by those of Judah, but not justly.

Peace. The *sword* of steel hath done *wonderful* things throughout the whole *world* in *matters* of *Religion*, and *woful* and *wonderful* (as was formerly observed) hath *Religious changes* been in the *English nation*, and that by the power of the *civil sword*, backward and forward, and that in the space of a few yeers, in the *reigne* of four or five *Princes*: But this (saith Master *Cotton*) is no more then befell the *church* of *Iudah* in the dayes of *Ahaz*, *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh*, and *Iosiah*.

Truth. Englands changes will be found upon examination incomparably *greater*, and wrought in the eighth part of the time that the *changes* of the *church* of *Iudah* were. And yet this *instance* will not infringe that the *civil sword* of the *Magistrate*, in a *national way*, is ordinarily able to turn about a *Nation* to and againe, to and from a *truth* of *God*, in *national hypocrisie*, and therefore

therefore most wisely hath the most holy and only wise, by the most golrious brightness of his *person* and *wisdom* of the *Father* (*Christ Jesus*) abolished his own *national* and state-*church*, whether *explicit* or *implicit*, that the two-edged sword of the *word* of the *Lord* in the mouths of his true *messengers*, might alone be brandished and magnified.

Peace. Master *Cotton* concludeth this Chapter with the observation, that the *revolt* of *England* againe to *Popery* wanteth *Scripture*-light.

Truth. He that loves *Christ Iesus* in sincerity, cannot but long, that *Christ Iesus* would speedily be pleased with the breath of his mouth to consume that man of sin: But yet that worthy servant of *God* (according to his *conscience*) Master *Archer* doth not barely propose his *opinion*, but also his *Scripture-grounds*, which I believe, compared with all former *experiences*, will seem to be of great and weighty *consideration*, and call all that wait for *Christ Iesus* to beg his *Spirit* deeply to weigh and ponder them.

Whether England may not receive the Pope againe.

Examination of CHAP. XL.

Peace.

TO the several *allegations* concerning the woful *slavery* of all *opposites* of *Christ Iesus*, and the mighty power of *free grace*, only able to release them; Master *Cotton* replies, So is it with *scandalous* offenders against the *Civil state*, and yet this doth not restraine *Magistrates* from executing just *judgements* upon them *&c.* And he adds, that better a *dead soul* in a *dead body*, and that *seducers* die without *faith*, then *murther* and *seduce* many *precious souls* from the *faith*.

Truth. The *Lord Iesus* commanding to give *God* the *things* that be *Gods*, and to *Cæsar* the things that be *Cæsars*, gives all his *followers* a clear and glorious *torch* of light to distinguish between *offenders* against *God* in a *spirstual* way, and *offenders* against *Cæsar*, his *Lawes*, *state* and *government* in a *civil* way.

Things of God and Cæsar.

Tis true, *flatterers* and *time-servers* use to make *Religion* and *justice*

justice, the two *pillars* of a *State*, and so indeed do all such *states* in the world as maintaine a *state-Religion*, invented and maintained in *civil policy* to maintaine a *civil state*. But all men that have tasted of *history* or *travel*, are witnesses sufficient of these two particulars.

Religions of the world, politick inventions to maintaine a civil state.

First concerning *justice*, that if the *sword* and *balances* of *justice* (in a sort or measure) be not drawn and held forth, against *scandalous* offenders against *civil state*, that *civil state* must dissolve by little and little from *civility* to *barbarisme*, which is a *wilderness* of *life* and *manners*.

The absolute necessity of some order of government all the world over.

Peace. Yea the very *barbarians* and *Pagans* of the *world* themselves are forced for their *holding* and hanging together in barbarous *compaines*, to use the *ties* and *knots*, and *bands* of a kind of *civil justice* against scandalous offenders against their Commonweale and profit.

Truth. But too many thousands of *Cities* and *states* in the *world* have and do flourish for many *generations* and *ages* of men, wherein (whatever *Cæsar* gets) *God* cannot get one penny of his due in any bare *permission* or *toleration* of his *religion* and *worship*.

Peace. Dear Truth, these two points being so constantly proved, I can but wonder that Master *Cotton* or any servant of *Christ Iesus*, should cry out to the *Cæsars* of this *world* to help the eternal *God* to get his due, because *Christ Iesus* grants them a *civil sword* in *civil cases*, to preserve their *civil states* from *barbarisme* and *confusion*.

Truth. That worthy *Emperor*, *Antoninus Pius*, in his letters for the *Christians*, plainly tels the *governors* of his *provinces*, that the *gods* were able to punish those that sinned against their *worship*; evidently declaring, by that light of *conscience* and *knowledge* which *God* had lighted up in his soul, the vast *difference* between *offenders* in the *civil state*, and *offendors* against the true and only *religion* and worship, about which the whole world disagreeth, and is hist together (by this bloody tenent) I say hist together by the *ears* and *throat*, in *blood* and *fire*, as the tide of *times*, *major vote*, *armies* and armes of *flesh* prevaile.

Antoninus Pius his distinction.

Peace. Ah (Dear *truth*) is there is no *Balme* in *Gilead*, no *balances*, no sword of *spiritual justice* in the *City*, and *kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, but that the *officers* thereof must run to borrow

Cæsars

Cæsar? Are the *Armories* of the true *king Solomon Christ Jesus* disarmed? Are there no *spiritual swords* girt upon the thighs of those valiant ones, that should guard his heavenly bed, except the *sword* of *steel* be run for from the *cutlers* shop? Is the *Religion* of *Christ Jesus* so poor and so weak and feeble grown, so cowardly and base (since *Paul* spake so gloriously of it, and the weapons of it (2 *Cor.* 10.) that neither the *souldiers* nor *Commanders* in *Christs Army* have any *courage* or *skill* to withstand sufficiently in all points a false *teacher*, a false *prophet*, a *spiritual cheater* or *deceiver*?

The degeneracy of Christianity now professed.

Truth. This must all that follow *Jesus* bitterly lament, that not a spiritual *sword* or *spear* is to be found in the spiritual *Israel* of *God*, but that his poor *Israelites* are forced down to the *Philistins* of this *worlds Smiths* &c. And that the princes of *Zion* are become feeble like *harts* without pasture, as *Jeremy* complaineth in his *Lamentations*.

Peace. Now whereas it was added that a *civil sword* hardens the *followers* of false *teachers* in the suffering of their *leaders*, and begets an impression of the *falshood* of that *religion*, which cannot uphold it self all the *world over*, but with such *instruments* of *violence*, &c. Master *Cotton* replies, that the *Magistrate* ought not to draw out his *sword* against *seducers*, untill he hath used all good means for *conviction*, &c. and then (saith he) he should be cruel to *Christs Lambs* in sparing the *Foxes*, &c.

Truth. Who knows not this to be the plea and practise of all *Popish persecutors* in all *ages*, to compass *sea* and *land* to reduce the *heretick* to the *union* and *bosome* of the *church*, not only with *promises*, *threatnings*, &c, but oftimes with solemn *disputations*, and sometimes *writings* and *waitings*, before they come to the *definitive sentence* and deliver him to the *secular power*, and so to the use of those desperate *remedies* of *hanging*, *burning*, &c. How do the bloody *Popes* and the bloody *Bonners* in their *hypocritical letters* and *bloody sentences*, profess their lamentable *grief* at *errors* and *heresies*; their *clemency* and *mercy*, and *great pains* taken to reduce that *wandring*, to return the *lost childe*, to heal the scabbed *sheep*? yea and when they are forced (as they say) for the saving of the *flock* from *infection* to deliver such *sheep* to the *secular* power, as their *butchers* and *executioners*; yet beseech they

The loathsome hypocrisie of persecutors.

that power, and that (most hypocritically without shame) in the bowels of *Christ Jesus*, to Minister *justice* with such *moderation*, that if it be possible the *hereticks* soul may be saved, but however the *flock* may be preserved from such damnable *Doctrine*.

In their bloody sentence, and proceedings with the persecuted.

Peace. Master *Cotton* will here blame the alleadging of this: for the *Popish Religion* is false, but theirs true, *&c.*

Truth. Tis true, the *Papists Religion* is false, yet Master *Cotton* cannot pass without suspition to be too neer of kin to the bloody *Papist*, to whom they are so neer in *practice*: The *Lord Jesus* gave an everlasting *rule* to his poor servants, to discern all false *prophets* by, to wit, their *fruits* and bloody *practices*. But,

Secondly, The holy *Spirit of God* in this 2 to *Tim.* now insisted on, not only commands *Timothy* to exhort the *opposite*, but patiently to wait and attend *Gods* will, if peradventure *God* will give *repentance*, and that they may recover themselves *&c.*

Peace. Master *Cotton* will not deny, together with meek exhortation, *patient waiting &c.*

Truth. Why then doth he limit the holy one of *Israel* to *dayes* or *moneths*? Three months was by the *law* (in *Massachusets* in *New England*) the time of *patience* to the *excommunicate*, before the *secular power* was to deal with him: But we finde no time limited, nor no *direction* given to *Timothy* or his *successors* to prosecute the *opposite* before *Cæsar* bar, in case *God* vouchsafed not *repentance* upon their means and waiting.

Too short a time set for repentance in New England.

3. *Christ Jesus* hath not been without *bowels* of *compassion* in all his gracious *care* and *provision* he hath made for his *sheep* and *lambs*, against the spiritual *Wolves* and *Foxes*; although we read not a word of the *arme* of *flesh* and *sword* of *steel* appointed by himself for their *defence* in his most blessed last Will and Testament.

4. Lastly, to that instance of the *Denatists* and Papists suppressed by the *civil sword*, no question but (as before) a *civil sword* is able, among *civil* people, to make a whole *nation*, or *world* of *hypocrites*: and yet experience also testifies (however Master *Cotton* makes it but *accidental*) that it is the common and ordinary *effect* of the *civil sword* drawn forth (as they speak) against

False teachers commonly hardened by persecution.

against *hereticks seducers* &c. to harden the *seducers* and *seduced*, by their *sufferings*, and to beget no other *opinion* in their hearts, then of the *cruelty* and *weakness* of the *heart* and *cause* of their *persecutors*.

Peace. There hath been no small noise of Master *Gortons* and his friends being *disciplined* (or as the *Papists* call it, *discipled* in the Schoole of the *New English churches*: It is worth the inquiry to ask what *conviction* and *conversion* hath all their *hostilities*, *captivatings*, *courtings*, *imprisonings*, *chainings*, *banishings*, &c. wrought upon them?

The great sufferings of Master Gorton and his friends in New England.

Truth. Shall I speak my thoughts without *partiality*? I am no more of Master *Gortons Religion* then of Master *Cottons*: and yet if Master *Cotton* complaine of their *obstinacy* in their *way*, I cannot but impute it to this *bloody tenent* and *practice*, which ordinarily doth give strength and *vigour*, *spirit* and *resolution* to the most erroneous, when such *unrighteous* and most *unchristian* proceedings are exercised against them.

Peace. Touching the *Edict* of *Antoninus Pius* concerning *persecution* of *Christians*, and the opinion it begat in their hearts of the cruelty of their *persecutors*, Master *Cotton* answers, first, the *Pagan Religion* is not of *God* but the *Religion* of *Christians* came down from Heaven in the *Gospel-truth*.

Antoninus Pius his Edict against persecution.

Truth. This is most true, to him that believeth that there is but one *God*, one *Lord*, one *Spirit*, one *baptisme*, one *body*, &c. according to *Christ Jesus* his *institution*; and that from that blessed *estate* the *Apostacy* hath been made; and that all other *Gods*, *Lords*, *Spirits Faiths*, *Baptisms* or *churches*, are false: But what is this to many *millions* of men and women, in so many *kingdomes* and *nations*, *Cities* and parts of the *world*, who believe as confidently their lies of many *Gods* and *Christs*, all which they believe (as the *Ephesians* of their *Diana*, and of the *image* of *Jupiter*, and (as Master Cotton of the way of his *Religion*) that they come down from *heaven*?

Peace. Doubtless, according to their belief, all the *peoples* of those *nations*, *kingdoms* and *countries*, wherein the name of *Christ* is sounded, whether of the *greek church* or the *latine*, whether of *Popish* or *Protestant* profession, will say as Master *Cotton*, my *religion* came down from *heaven* in the *Gospel* of *Truth*, &c.

Truth. Now then either the *sword* of *steel* must decide this *controversie* (according to the bloody *tenent* of *persecution*) in the suppressing of *heretick*s, *blasphemers*, *idolaters* and *seducers*, by the strength of an arme of *flesh*: or else the two-edged-sword of the Spirit of *God*, the *word* of *God* coming out of the mouth of *Christ Jesus* in the *mouths* of his *servants*, which will either *humble* and *subdue* the *Rebels*, or cut most deep, and kill with an *eternal vengeance*.

The difference between spiritual and corporal murther.

Peace. But (saith Master *Cotton*) it will beget an *opinion* of *cruelty* to murther *innocents*, but not to put to *death murtherers* of *souls*.

Truth. I answer, beside that great and common *difference* of *civil murther*, and *spiritual*, there is a second, to wit, that in the *murther* of an *innocent*, the conscience of a *murtherer* is opened, and commonly the mouth confesseth I am a *murtherer*, I have killed an *innocent*: but run through all the *coasts* and *quarters* of the whole *world*, and the very *consciences* of so many thousands of soul-*murtherers* are rootedly satisfied and perswaded, that they are so far from being *murtherers* as that they are so many *saviours* of the *souls* of *men*, and *Priests* and *Ministers* of the most high *God* or *Gods*, &c.

Peace. For instance, if a man say Master *Cotton* is a *subject* of the state of *England*, and a *Minister* of that *worship*, which he believeth to be true, confirmed by *argument* and *light* sufficient to his *understanding soul* and conscience: How many thousand are there fellow-*subjects* with Master *Cotton* to the *English state*, yet of a contrary mind to Master *Cotton* in matter of *Gods worship*? yea how many are there (it may be thousands) professing a *Ministery* contrary to Master *Cottons*? and the like may be found in other *nations* and *parts* of the *world*.

Civil justice ought impartially to permit one conscience as well as another.

Truth. What true *reason* of *justice*, *peace*, or *common* safety of the whole, can be rendred to the *world* why Master *Cottons* conscience and *Ministry* must be maintained by the *sword*, more then the *consciences* and *Ministeries* of his other fellow-subjects? Why should he be accounted (I mean at the bar of *civil justice*) I say accounted a soul *Saviour*, and all other *Ministers* of other *Religions* and *consciences*, *soul-murtherers*, and so be executed as *murtherers*, or forced to temporize or turn from their *Religion*,

on, which is but *hypocrisie* in *Religion* against their *conscience*, which is ten thousand times worse, and renders men, when they sin against their *conscience*, not only *hypocrites*, but *Atheists*, and so fit for the practise of any *evil, murthers, adulteries, treasons*, &c?

Peace. Master *Cottons* second Answer is, that the persecuting *Emperors* and *governors* of *Provinces* under them, attended not to the conviction of *christians*, nor did they endeavour to make it appear that the *Christians* sinned against the light of their *consciences*, and therefore no marvel if it bred in the people a just opinion of the *cruelty* of *persecutors*, and of the *innocency* of *christians*.

The difference of the persecution of the Roman Emperors and the Roman Popes.

Truth. Let it be granted that the *Roman Emperors* did not attend to, nor endeavour this, yet the *Roman Popes*, and all the *Antichrist* governors of their mystical *Provinces*, *Bishops* and *Preists*, have professedly compassed *Sea* and *Land* to make a *Proselyte*.

Peace. Tis true, the *history* of the death of the *Saints*, slaughtered by such persecutors abundantly testifie this, and yet their *persecution* will be found no other then *cruelty* and *murther*, and the opinion of it will never be razed out of the heart of *Gods* people, whatever the whole *world* (which wonders after and *worships the beast*) think to the contrary.

Truth. And I add, that herein Master *Cottons* former position, to wit [that *hereticks* must be punished by the *civil sword*, for sinning against the light of their own *conscience*] accords fully with the Popish clamors, [the *hereticks* mouths are stopped, they are *convinced*, they have not a word to say, and yet they are *obstinate*; away with them, hang them, burn them.]

Peace. Master *Cotton* saith, It is an untrue intimation of the *discusser*, that *Antoninus* forbod the persecuting of *christians* upon any such ground.

Truth. That it may not rest upon the discussers *credit* or *discredit*, I think it not unseasonable if I present to *English* eyes the *English* testimony of the diligent and praise worthy-Chronicler *John Speede*, who also ingageth *Eusebius* his credit, and thus relateth the effect of *Antoninus* his mind in these words.

The

The Emperor *Cæsar, Marcus, Aurelius, Antoninus*, &c.
Unto the Commons of *Asia*,

Sendeth Greeting.

Antoninus Pius his famous Edict for liberty to the Christians related by that praise-worthy Master John Speede out of Eusebius.

I Doubt not, but the Gods themselves have a care that wicked persons shall be brought to light; for it doth much more appertaine to them, then it doth to you, to punish such as refuse to yeeld them worship: but this course which you take, doth confirme them whom you persecute in this their opinion of you, That you are impious men, and meer Atheists; whereby it commeth to pass, that they desire in the quarrel of their GOD, rather to die then to yeeld to the will of such as you are, and to embrace your form of Religion: Let it not seem unseasonable to call to your remembrance the Earthquakes which lately have happened, and which are yet, to your great terrour and grief; because I understand, that in such like Accidents, you cast the Envy of such common misfortune, upon their Shoulders; whereby their confidence, and trust in their GOD is much the more increased: Whereas, you being ignorant of the true causes of such things, do doth neglect the worship of the other Gods, and also banish and persecute the servants of the immortal GOD, whom the Christians do worship; and you persecute to the death all the embracers of that profession. In the behalf of these men, many of the Provinces President have written before to my Father of famous memory, to whom he answered, That they should not be molested, unless they were proved to have practised Treason against the Imperial State; and concerning the same matter, some have given notice to me, to whom I answered with like moderation as my Father did before me: And by our Edict, do ordaine, That if any hereafter be found thus busie in molesting these kind of men, without any their offence, We command that he that is accused upon this point, be absolved; albeit he be proved to be such an one as he is charged to be, that is, a Christian; and he that is his accuser, shall suffer the same Punishment which he sought to procure unto the other.

In

In this passage the *wise* and *experienced Emperor* observeth many *reasons* for the toleration of *Christians*, and insinuates that the persecuting of the Christians, confirmed them in their opinion, that their *persecutors* were not only *cruel* (for that is the least that can be implied in *persecution*) but also as the words run, impious men and meer *Atheists*.

Peace. Dear Truth, your *observation* forceth from my peaceable mind, this *Testimony*, which oft to my grief and horror, mine eares have heard many *persons* (I hope in their *persons* chosen of the *Lord*) having as they conceived, suffered *persecution* from the hands, and by the means of many worthy men both of *Magistracy* and *Ministry* of *New England*: I say, they have been by such *persecution* so far from being wrought on *&c.* that they have been moulded into a strong *apprehension*, that it was impossible that such their *persecutors* should be men of any *fear* of *God*, but meer *dissemblers*, *time-servers*, *Jehues reformers*, for their own ends of *honor*, *ease*, and *liberty* from the *cross* of *Christ*: which apprehension although the *discusser* (to my knowledge) hath often labored to root out of many, yet could he hardly prevaile to stir it, so grossly, *odious*, *unchristian*, or *antichristian*, appears the ugly face of *persecution* &c.

The persecuted ever nourish an hard conceit of cruelty and Tyranny in their persecutors, whereas Malefactors confess frequently the justice of their condemners.

Examination of CHAP. XLI.

Peace.

IN the discussing of the prophecy of *Isaiah* and *Micah*, concerning the breaking of *swords* into *plowshares*, and *speares* into *pruning-hooks*, truely interpreted to foretell the meek temper of *Christians* in bringing others to *Christ Jesus*, Master *Cotton* excepts against the discussers observation upon Master *Cottons* similitude from *Wolves* which he would have driven out from the *sheepfold*: The observation was this, or to this effect, [That if *civil power* might force the *wolves* out, it might force the *sheep* in.]

Truth. The discusser denied not the use of *Christs spiritual power* for the life of his *sheep*, and *destruction* of the *Wolves*: but *heaven* and *earth* shall fall before this truth, to wit, [That *power* that driveth *Wolves* out, may drive sheep in.] If *spiritual*

power

power drive out the *wolfe spiritual*, so drives in the *sheep*, but if *civil power* (to wit, by *swords whips*, *prisons*, *burnings* &c.) drives out the *spiritual* or *mystical Wolfe*, the same undeniably must drive in the *sheep*.

If Civil power may force out of the church, it may also force in.

Peace. Yea, but Master *Cotton* (too too weakly) would please himself upon the word [*same*:] a *father*, saith he, with a *staffe* or *sword* may drive away *dogs* that might by the way worry or bite his *children* going to *School*, may he therefore with a *staffe* or *sword* drive his *children* to School? and are *wolves* to be driven away, and *sheep* brought into the *fold* by the same *instruments*? The *dog* that teares a *wolfe*, if he tear the *sheep* also, will finde an *halter*, &c.

Truth. Master *Cotton* hath had a name for a man of *Moses spirit*, of a meek and gentle temper; he cannot but know he hath lost that name with thousands fearing *God*, by not putting that difference, between the *Wolves* and the *sheep*, the *Egyptians* and the *Israelites*, as *Moses* did: *Moses* killed the *Egyptian*, he reproves the *Israelite*: All that contradict Master *Cottons church* way (though before dear *brethren*, familiar and intimate) he not only drives them out, as *wolves blasphemers seducers* &c. by his pretended *spiritual weapons* of *Christ Jesus*, but also by *civil sword*, imprisoning banishing, whipping, &c.

Every true Moses will make a difference between Israelites and Egyptians.

But more particularly, The discusser indeed useth this word the *same power*, but not as Master *Cotton* seemeth to understand it, for the *same weapon*. He hath in this very place printed the discussers words, that a *staff* is for the *wolfe*, and a *rod* or *hook* for the *sheep*. The *dog* that teares the *wolf*, is but to affright the sheep and consequently the *father* that hath a stick or *rod* for the *child*; But yet these *swords*, *staves sticks* and *rods*, are all of the same *nature* in general, that is of a *material*, temporal and *civil nature*, which may be used about natural *wolves*, *sheep*, *children* &c. And if they may be used also about spiritual or mystical *wolves*, to force them out; it is as cleare as the *Sun-Beames*, that they may be used, that is such *civil weapons* as are fit for *mystical wolves* to force them into the *sheepfold*: And thus have all *Popish* persecutors practised in our own and other countries, to wit, by *civil* power (as well as by their own pretended *spiritual*) in forcing their supposed *sheep* to *church*, and to *conformity*, as well as by *whips*, and *Prisons*, *Ropes* and *Fires*, driving out the supposed *wolves* or *hereticks*.

Peace.

Peace. In the close of this, Master *Cotton* adds, that (*Rev. 6. 6.*) the *Antichristian wolves* shall drink *blood*, for they are worthy.

Truth. I have in former passages declared the misconceit of Master *Cotton* and others, as touching that *Scripture*, and that, although they shall drink *blood* filled out of the *cups* of *Gods* righteous *vengeance* yet not by judicial prosecution in *civil courts* for *spiritual offences*, although yet it is most righteous for the *kings* and *powers* of the earth, meerly with respect to these *wolves* their *oppressions* and *bloodsheddings*, to repay them again with the like smart and paine, and kinds of *punishment*.

Peace. Yea and tis for ever memorable, that while the *kings* of the *earth* have given their power to the *beast*, against the *bodies* of the *Saints*, what *cups* of *blood* hath the righteous hand of the most *high* filled to *Antichristian kings* and *kingdomes*, by the bloody *Turkes*, and by their own more bloody *wars*, sometimes for the empty *puffs* of their *titles* and *honors*, but as frequently for *God* (as they pretend) and for his *Religion*.

Cups of Blood given into the hand of persecuting nations.

Examination of CHAP. XLII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master *Cotton* chargeth the discusser for making work, to wit, for examining more particularly the similitude of *wolves* brought in by Master *Cotton* himself: yet he consenteth with him in the first *quary*, that those *Wolves* of which *Paul* warns the *elders* at *Ephesus*, were *mystical* and *spiritual wolves*; yet he adds that such cannot be good *subjects*, loving *neighbors*, faire *dealers*, because they spiritually are not such; and he argues, that then it will be no advantage to *civil states*, when the *kingdomes* of the earth shall become the *kingdomes* of the *Lord*: and that then they may do as good *service* to the *civil state*, who bring the wrath of *God* upon them by their *apostacy*, as they that bring dow *blessings* from heaven by *profession* and *practise* of the true *religion* in *purity*.

Whether a commonwealth prosper in divers religions permitted.

Truth. I desire that this *reply* be well pondred, for it will be found dangerously destructive to the very *roots* of all civil *relations*,

ons, converſe and dealing; yea, and any *civil being* of the *world it ſelf.*

For, if none be peaceable *ſubjects*, loving *neighbors*, faire *dealers*, but ſuch of Maſter *Cottons conſcience* and *religion* (which he conceives to be the only true *religion*) what will become of all other *ſtates, governments, cities, towns, peoples families, neighbors*, upon the *face* of the earth? I ſay, what will become of them (eſpecially if power were in Maſter *Cottons* hand to deal with them as *Wolves*?)

Men may be very faire and peaceable, though not of the only one religion.

Peace. Alas, too too frequent *experience* tels us in all parts of the *world*, that many thouſands are far more peaceable *ſubjects*, more loving and helpful *neighbors*, and more true and fair *dealers* in *civil converſation*, then many who account themſelves to be the only *religious* people in the *world.*

Truth. But againe, What the ſtate of things ſhall be, and what the manner of the *adminiſtration* of *Chriſts kingdome*, when the *kingdomes* of the *earth* ſhall become the *kingdomes* of the *Lord*. Maſter *Cotton* doth not expreſs: and for wrath brought upon *civil ſtates* for their *apoſtacy*, I deſire Maſter *Cotton* to ſhew, where ever *God* deſtroyed any Nation in the world (one only excepted) for *Apoſtacy* from his *truth* and *worſhip*? Yea and where was ever *Iſrael* (the only true *national church* that Maſter *Cotton* will acknowledge) meerly for apoſtaſie deſtroyed, without general ripeneſs in other ſins alſo, and eſpecially for their perſecuting of ſuch, as declared their *apoſtaſie, ſuperſtition*, and will-worſhip from *God* unto them.

Peace. In the next place Maſter *Cotton* granting that the charge given to watch againſt theſe *Wolves*, was not given to the *Magiſtrates* of the City of *Epheſus*, but to the *elders* of the *church* of *Chriſt* in *Epheſus*, he yet chargeth the diſcuſſer with a palpable and notorious ſlander, for ſaying, that many of thoſe *charges* and *exhortations* given by the *Lord Jeſus* to the *ſhepherds* and *Miniſters* of the *churches*, are commonly attributed by the anſwerer in this diſcourſe to the civil *Magiſtrate.*

Truth. This heavy charge of Maſter *Cottons* againſt the diſcuſſer, will be found to be a fruit of *Anger* and paſſion, and not of *reaſon* and *moderation*; as alſo his denyal that one of thoſe charges given to *Miniſters*, were directed by him to *Magiſtrates.*

For

For if Master *Cotton*, or any please to view over Master *Cottons allegations* from the New *Testament* in this discourse, he shall finde that (*Tit.* 3.) *reject the heretick* a charge given by the *Lord Jesus* to *Titus*, and the *church* at *Crete*, is brought for the proof of the *Magistrates* punishing, imprisoning, banishing, killing the *heretick*, *idolater* &c.

Scriptures perverted from the church to the civil state.

The like charges of *Christ Jesus* sent to the *Ministers* and *churches* of *Asia*, for tolerating amongst them *Balaam* and *Jezabel*, are produced to prove prosecutions against false *Prophets* and professors in the *City* and *Commonweal*.

Yea although Master *Cotton* name not *Act.* 20. yet in that Master *Cotton* affirmeth that *Magistrates* with the *civil sword* must drive away *Wolves* from the sheepfold of *Christ* the *church*, meaning spiritual *wolves*, false *teachers*, he may be truly said to quote all such *Scriptures* as give charge against such *Wolves*.

Peace. Indeed Master *Cotton* more then once pleaseth himself with this similitude of *Wolves*, to prove the *Magistrates* piety and pity to the *sheep*, in slaying and driving away the *wolves*, *false teachers*, &c.

Truth. Hence was it (for commonly where *state-Religions* are set up, the *Magistrate* is but the *Ministers Cane* through whom the *Clergy* speaks) I say probably hence from such misapplyed *Scriptures* in their *churches*, that in their solemn *civil* general *court*, at the banishment of one poor man amongst them, hunted out as a *wolf* or *heretick*, the *governor* who then was, standing up alleadged for a ground of their duty to drive away such by *banishment*, that fameus charge of *Christ Jesus* to his *Ministers* and *Church* at *Rome* (*Rom.* 16) Marke them that cause *divisions* contrary to the *doctrine* which you have received, and avoid, that is, by *banishment*: By all which and more it may be found, how *Sathan* hath abused their godly minds and apprehensions in causing them so to abuse the holy *writings* of *truth* and *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, and that how ever they deny it in express tearms, yet by most impregnable *consequence* and implication they make up a kind of *national church*, and (as the phrase is) a *Christian state* and *government* of *church* and *Commonweale*, that is, of *Christ* and the *world* together.

The Magistrate usually the Cleargies Cane, &c.

Rom. 16. 17.

grosly abused by a governor in New England.

Peace. To proceed, it being further inquired into, whether in

all the *New Testament* of *Christ Jesus* there be any such word of *Christ*, either by way of *command*, *Promise*, or example, countenancing the *civil state* to meddle with these *mystical Wolves*, if in *civil* things peaceable and obedient. Master *Cotton* replieth, that this *condition* of *peaceable* and *obedient*, implies a *contradiction* to the *nature* and practise of *wolves*. How can, saith he, *wolves* be peaceable and obedient, unless *restrained*? Can there be peace, *Jehu*, so long as the *whoredomes* of *Jezabel* and her *witchcrafts* are so many? And when it might be objected that *spiritual whoredomes* and *witchcrafts* might stand with *civil* peace, He answers, No verily, for the *whoredomes* and *witchcrafts* of the *Jezabel* of *Rome* took away *civil* peace from the *earth*, and brought the *Turks* to oppress both the peace of *Christian churches* and *Commonweals*, Rev. 9. 15, 21.

Truth. I wonder since Master *Cotton* in this very passage mentioneth the *spiritual wolves*, *whores*, and *witches*, as well as *natural* and *moral*, How he can imagine that a *spiritual wolf* or *witch* (to wit, so or so in matters of *spiritual* worship and *religion*) might not possibly be peaceable and *obedient* in *civil* things.

Peace. Yea but he alleadgeth the *whoredomes* of the *Jezabel* of *Rome*.

Truth. Why, was not the State of *England*, the *Kings* and *Queens*, and *Parliaments* thereof, lawful as *kings* and *states*, though overwhelmed and overspread universally with the *Romish abominations*? If such *wolves*, *whores*, and *witches* could yeeld no *civil* obedience, could they then exercise (by the same *argument*) any *civil authority*? And shall we then conclude all the former Popish *kings* and *Parliaments* (and consequently *lawes*) unlawful, because in *spiritual* things they were as *Wolves*, &c. tearing and burning the poor sheep of *Christ*? will it not then be unlawful for any man, that is perswaded the whole *nation* where he lives is *idolatrous spiritually whorish*, &c. I say unlawful for him to live in such a *state*, although he might with freedome to his own *conscience*? whither will such kind of arguing drive at last, but to pluck up up the *roots* of all *states* and peoples in the *world*, as not capable to yeeld *civil* obedience, or exercise civil *authority*, except such people *Magistrates*, &c. as are of Master *Cottons church* and *religion*.

The bloody Tenent plucks up the nations and all civil being, &c.

Peace.

Peace. Methinks *experience* (were there no *Scripture* nor *reason*) might tell us how peaceable and just neighbors and dealers many thousands and millions of *Jews*, *Turks*, *Antichristians*, and *Pagans* are to be found, notwithstanding their spiritual *whoredoms witchcrafts*,&c.

Truth. Yea, and why doth Master *Cotton* alleadge the *Jezabel* of *Rome*, and the comming in of the *Turks*? It is true, *God* brought in the *Armies* of the *Turkes* upon the *Eastern* Empire, which yet flourished many ages (even in their *apostacies*) before their *destruction* by the *Turkes*. And how many *ages* and *generations* hath *Iezabel* of *Rome* sitten as a *Queen* in triumphant *pease* and *glory*, even since the rising of the *Turks* (and so shall sit probably in greater and greater, untill the time of her appointed *judgement* and downfal? If *Christ Jesus* were a true Prophet (*Iohn* 16.) outward peace, prosperity, *riches*, *honor*, is the portion of this *world*, notwithanding their *idolatries*, *apostacies*, *blasphemies*: But the portion of *Christs* followers (like his own, and both like a woman in travel) paine and *sorrow*, yea *poverty* and *persecution*, untill the great day of *refreshing*, neer approaching.

The plague of the Turkes.

Romes glory and downfal.

Peace. Master *Cotton* againe sends us to *Revelations* the 16. 4, 5, 6, 7.

Truth. And I must also send Master *Cotton* and the Reader to our disproving of that proof abovesaid.

Further, whereas he calls *Rom.* 13. the great *Charter* for all *Magistrates* to deal in *spiritual matters*, I have and shall manifest in the *examinations* upon that place, how weak a *warrant* it is for the civil *state*, and the *officers* thereof, to conceive themselves *spiritual Physitians*, by vertue of their office, appointed by God, in spiritual and *soul-evils*.

Peace. Whereas it was urged, that *Magistrates* beside their skil in *civil laws* and *government*, must be able (if Master *Cottons bloody tenent* be true) as *judges* and *heads* to determine *spiritual causes* and *controversies*, and that by the sight of his own eyes, and not other mens; Master *Cotton* replies, that *Magistrates* ought to be skilled in the *fundamentals* of *religion*, and that their *ignorance* excuseth not.

The civil state and officers thereof cannot be spiritual judges.

Truth. In this passage Master *Cotton* waveth that *inference*

[That

[That then *Magistrates* must be *heads* and *judges* in *spiritual causes*:] That *inference* cannot possibly be avoided, if we grant it their *duty* (as Master *Cotton* seemes to do) to pass sentence in the *fundamentals* of *religion*, and in those points which have been and are so greatly controverted among all sorts of men that name the *name* of *Christ*.

2. If *Magistrates* must thus judge, reforme, *&c.* where hath been the care of *Christ Iesus* to appoint in all parts of the world, such *Magistrates*, as might take care of his *religion* and *worship*? why hath he not furnished them with some *capacity* and *ability* to the work?

Foul neglects cast upon Christ Jesus.

Peace. It is lamentable to think that most of the *Magistrates* in the world (beyond compare) know not so much as whether there be a *Christ* or no.

Truth. If *Christ Iesus* had forgotten himself for three hundred yeers together, furnishing his *church* with no other *heads* but of *Wolves*, *Bear*, *Lyons*, and *Tygers*, the *Romane Emperors* yet (after a little refreshing by *Constantine*, *Theodosius* &c.) why should he still forget himself (even a thousand yeers together, providing no other *heads*, but bloody and *Popish kings* and *Emperors*?

The case of Gallio.

Peace. What think you (*dear truth*) of Master *Cottons* grant of *Gallios* not being bound to judge in matters of *religion*, because he had no Law from *Cæsar* whose *deputy* he was?

Truth. I answer what if he had not a law from *Cæsar*, if yet he had a law from *Christ Iesus*, as Master *Cotton* implies? Or will Master *Cotton* suspend the *execution* of *Christs will*, upon the *kings*, *states*, or *peoples* minds that choose such *Magistrates* to be their *deputies* in the *Commonweale*? But the truth is, concerning *Gallio*, whatever he was in his person, and however he did evil in suffering the peace to be broken; yet will Master *Cotton* never prove, that he had calling from either *God* or *man*, to go beyond his *civil Magistracy* and *office* to intermeddle with *matters* of a *spiritual nature*, and that *Gallio* knew well enough, and other *Magistrates* of the *world* shall know in the *Lords* most gracious appointed season.

Peace. The discusser ending this Chapter with the infallible safety of *Gods* chosen, notwithstanding all ravenous *wolves*, &c.

Master

Master *Cotton* replies from *Deut.* 13. that *God* was able to keep his sheep in *Israel*, yet they that seduced them were to be put to *death.*

Truth. That *argument* was not alleadged with the derogation to any of *Gods* holy *ordinances*, which concern the *calling* or *preserving* of such whom *God* hath chosen to *salvation*, but only to discover the over-busie fear of *Gods* loosing any of his chosen to *salvation*, by the jaws of spiritual *wolves*, &c. For *Deut.* 13. let Master *Cotton* produce such a *miraculous nation* or *people* (as I may call it) so brought out of the land of *Egypt* into *covenant* with *God &c.* and I shall readily grant that *seducers* of such a people from such a *God*, are worthy to die a thousand *deaths*: But if Master *Cotton* will now tell me that the *Christian congregational church* is the *Israel* of *God*, and the coming forth of *Egypt* is now *mystical* and *spiritual*, why will he not content himself with a *mystical* and *spiritual death* to be inflicted upon him that shall seduce an *Israelite* from the *Lord* his *God*?

Examination of CHAP. XLIII.

Peace.

UPon the fifth query to wit, whether the elders of the *church* at *Ephesus* were not sufficiently furnished by the *Lord Jesus* to drive away these *spiritual* and *mystical wolves*, Master *Cotton* replies, by granting, that they were furnished with sufficient power to cast them out of the *church*; but being cast out, they had not sufficient power to drive them away from *conferring* and *corrupting* the members of the *church*, or other *godly* ones out of the *church*; and he adds, that it is no dishonour to *Christ*, nor *impeachment* to the *sufficiency* of his *ordinances* left by *Christ*, that in such a case the *minister* of *justice* in the *civil state*, should assist the Ministers of the *Gospel* in the *church state.*

Shameful weakness cast upon the spiritual Artillery of Christ Jesus.

Truth. This grant and this *addition* do as ill agree, as *light* and *darkeness*, *Christ* and *Belial* together. For, is the *church* or *kingdome* of *Christ Jesus* sufficiently furnished (that is, in it

The spiritual liberties of Christs people in spiritual causes.

self without the help of the *civil Magistrate*) to *excommunicate*, to cast these *wolves* out of the Fold: Oh let M. *Cotton* then, and all that love *Christ Jesus* in truth, observe what evidently follows, then is this *church* of *Christ* sufficiently furnished to receive such persons in againe upon *repentance*, then sufficiently furnished at first to be congregated together by *Christs means* to *ordaine* their *officers*, to judge of *doctrines* and *persons* and all this (necessarily upon Master *Cottons* grant) without the help of the *civil Magistrates*.

The mighty power of spiritual weapons.

Peace. Yea, and it seemes to me incredible, and unreasonable, that *Christ Jesus* should have left *power* and *authority* sufficient to take and bind a *rebel* against his *kingdome*, to *arraigne* him and pass *sentence* upon him, yea and *execute* him in the *cutting* off such an *offendor* from the *land* of the *living*, delivering him over into the power of that roaring *Lyon* the *devil*; And yet that *Christ Iesus* should not have left *power sufficient* (in such *publick*, high and solmne *actions* of his *kingdome*) to declare sufficient cause of such *proceedings*, by which all men may see, the goings of the *Son* of *God* in his *church* and *kingdome*, or if willfully blind, may justly be further hardned.

A vaine fear of false teachers.

Truth. The place from *Titus* alleadged (unto which many other *Scriptures* testifie) I say that place doth evidently shew, that the power of *Christ Iesus* left in the hand of his *churches* and *elders*, was not only sufficient to cast out such *wolves*, but even to stop or *muzzle* their *mouthes* (whatever their *gainsaying* be, whether by *conferring*, *preaching*, *printing* &c.) which takes off the plea of the great need of the *civil sword*, to correct the *conference* of such persons *&c.* when by the words of *Paul* it is here plaine, that they can perform such conferences, no otherwise, but with a stopt or *muzled mouth*.

Christ Jesus nor Paul adrest themselves to the civil state.

Let it be produced where *Christ Iesus* in such cases writes to the *Magistrates* (either of *Crete*, or *Ephesus*, or any other *civil jurisdiction* where the *churches* were resident) to help the Ministers and *churches* with their *civil powers*, after they had cast forth any person obstinate: Doubtless *Christ Iesus* in *Paul* and other of his servants would have written to some of *such Magistrates* in some place or other, having occasion to write to so many *churches* about such cases.

Peace

Peace. It will (possibly) be said, it had been in vaine, for they were *idolaters* and *persecutors*.

Truth. The Lord is pleased throughout the whole Scripture in the mouths of his *servants* and *prophets* to call for duties at the hands of all *men*, notwithstanding their natural *hardness* and *inability*, that so he might drive them to see their *duty* and *misery*, and *remedy* alone in *God* by *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. I see now, that this hindring of *conference* &c. by the *civil sword* is nothing else but a *conformity* with the *Pope* in defending his *Canons*, and with the *Turk* in guarding his *Alcoran* by *fire* and *sword*; with whom, and their ways *Christ Jesus* hath no *conformity* nor *communion*, nor with their *carnal sword*, his two-edged *sword* that proceedeth out of his *mouth Rev.* 1. Beside. *Christ Jesus* hath not onely furnished his *church* with *power* sufficient to *excommunicate*, but every one of his *followers* with a *compleat armour* from *head* to *foot* (*helmet*, *breast-plate* *sword* and *Target*, and and spiritual shoes (*Ephes.* 6.) in which respect the least of *Christs servants* are inabled to stop the mouth of *Papists*, *Pope*, *Turks* and *devils*.

Turk and Pope and all Protestants against free conference.

The ammunition of Christs souldiers.

Peace. Yea all *experience* shews how *Christ Jesus* (little *David*) in the least of his *servants*, hath been able with those plaine *smooth stones* out of the brook of holy *Scripture*, to lay groveling in their *spiritual gore*, the *stoutest Champions* (*Popes*, *Cardinals*, *Bishops*, *Doctors*) of the *Antichristian* Philistins.

David and Goliah types.

Truth. I add, if the *elders*, and *churches*, and *ordinances* of *Christ* have such need of the *civil sword* for their *maintenance* and *protection* (I mean in *spiritual things*) sure the *Lord Jesus Christ* cannot be excused for not being careful either to express this great *ordinance* in his *will* and *Testament*, or else to have furnished the *civil state* and *officers* thereof with *ability* and *hearts* for this their great *duty* and *employment*, to which he hath called them; the contrary whereof in all *Ages*, in all *nations*, and in all *experience*, hath ever been most lamentably true.

Peace. I am not clear (*dear truth*) in the *distinction*, Master *Cotton* makes of *Christs Ministers* in the *Gospel*, and *Christs Ministers* in the *civil state*.

Truth. There is a mistake in it, for although *Christ* hath all power delivered to him in *heave* and *earth*, yet as touching his

spiritual church or *kingdome* he disclaimes it to be of the *world*, or *worldly*. Hence cannot the *civil state* or *officers* thereof be called *Christs*, as if they were of *Christs institution* and *appointment*, himself being their *spiritual head*. And therefore it is that the *Spirit* of *God* cals him the *head* of the *body*, which is the *church*, and the *Ministers* and *officers* of this his *kingdome* and body *Christs Ministers* or *servants*. Beside, Master *Cotton* will not say that the *kingdomes* of the *world* are yet become the *Lord Christs*: In what manner also those *kingdomes* shall become his, we have need of the holy Spirit to evidence and demonstrate to us.

Difference between spiritual and civil Ministers.

Peace. To the fifth *query*, whether (as *men* deal with *wolves*) these *wolves* at *Ephesus* were intended by *Paul* to be *killed*, their *braines* dasht out with *stones*, *staves*, *halberts*, *guns*, &c. in the hands of the *elders* of *Ephesus*: Master *Cotton* replies, *Elders* must keep within the *bounds* of their *calling*: But such courses were commanded the people of *God* by order from the *Judges*, *Deut.* 13. And where it was added, that comparing Things *spiritual* with *spiritual*, spiritual and mystical *wolves* should be *spiritually* and *mystically* slaine. Master *Cotton* replies, True, but in destroying *religion* they also disturbe the *civil state*, and accordingly are to be dealt withal by *civil Justice*, as *Achan* was for troubling *Israel*, *Iosh.* 7. 25.

Truth. This acknowledgement of Master *Cotton*, that these *wolves* must *spiritually* be killed, their *braines* dasht out by the *elders* and *Saints*, might (if the *Lord* should graciously so please) easily satisfie himself and all men, that the type of *Israel stoning* and *killing corporally*, is here fulfilled in all dreadful abundance *spiritually*.

Israels corporal killing types of spiritual.

Peace. Yea, but saith Master *Cotton*, they disturbe the civil state as *Achan* did.

Truth. I answer, *Achan* troubling of *Israel*, the people of the *Lord*, must figure out any such like troubling *Gods Israel*, the *church* of *Christ*, for which he is accordingly to be spiritually stoned or executed: For, as touching the *civil state* of the *nations* of the *world*, who can prove (and Master *Cotton* will not affirme) that they are as the *national church* of the *Iews* was? but being meerly *civil*, are armed with *civil power* and *weapons* for their *civil defence* against all *disturbers*,

Achans troubling of Israel a figure of troubling the Israel or church of Christ now.

bers of their *civil state*, as also Master *Cotton* confesseth the *spiritual state* is furnished with *spiritual power* against all the *disturbers* of its *spiritual* peace and safety.

Peace. Now whereas it was further added, that under pretence of driving away the wolves, and preserving the sheep, that streams of the blood of Saints have been spilt *&c.* Master *Cotton* replies, belike it is a milky, and peaceable, and Gospel-like Doctrine, that the wolves (*heretick*s) are to be tolerated, not an haire strook from their head; but for the poor sheep, for whom Christ died, let them perish, unless Christ mean to preserve them alone with his immediate hand and no care of them belongs to the civil *Magistrate.*

The duty of the civil state in matters of worship.

Truth. I have here in this *discourse* shewed with what honorable and tender *respect* every *civil Magistrate* is bound to honor and tender *Christ Iesus* in his *christian sheep* and *shepherds*, but withall, that it is against *christianity* for the civil *Magistrate* or *civil state*, to imagine that all a whole *nation* was or ever will be called to the *union* of *Gods Spirit* in *communion* with *God* in *Christ*: Also, that it is against *civil justice* for the *civil state* or *officers* thereof to deal so partially in matters of *God*, as to permit to some the freedome of their *consciences* and *worships*, but to curbe and suppress the *consciences* and *souls* of all others of their *free-born* people &c.

Peace. To end this Chapter: whereas it was said, is not this to take *Christ* and to make him a *temporal king* by force? Is not this to make his *kingdom* of this *world*, and to set up a *civil* and *temporal Israel*? To bound out a new *holy land* of *Canaan*? yea and to set up a *Spanish inquisition* in all parts of the *world*, to the speedy destruction of *millions* of *souls*, and to the frustrating of the sweet end of the coming of the *Lord Iesus*, which was to save mens souls (and to that end not to destroy mens bodies) by his own blood.

To this Master *Cotton* replies, when the *kingdomes* of the *earth* shall become the *kingdomes* of the *Lord* (*Rev.* 11.) it is not by making *Christ* a *temporal king*, but by making *temporel kings* nursing fathers to the Church.

Concerning the kingdomes of the world becoming the kingdoms of Christ Rev. 11.

Truth. If the *Scripture* [At the sound of the seventh *trumpet*] which is the last of the great *woes*, when the time of *Gods* wrath shall be come, be to be understood of the *removing* of the *kingdomes* of the *world* unto *Christ*, Master *Cotton* cannot excuse

Christ Iesus from being a *temporal king*, and the kings of the earth to be but as inferior and *subordinate officers*: For if they administer *Christs kingdome* temporally, as *deputies, officers* or *Ministers temporally* he is much more then himself a *temporal king* and *Monarch.*

Peace, Methinks also, if that committing of all *judgement* to the *Son* (*Iohn* 5.) be meant of *Temporal judgement* in *spiritual things*, then can he not be said, not to be a *temporal king*, then can he not be said (when those words were spoken and ever since) not to have exercised a *temporal government*. The contrary whereof is most true, both at his first coming, and ever since, in all *generations*, it having been his *portion*, and the *portion* of his *followers* to be judged by this *world*, although *himself* and his judge the *world spiritually*, and will shortly pass an *eternal sentence* upon all the children of men.

Christ no temporal King.

Peace. Master *Cotton* addeth, this will not set up a *civil* or *temporal Israel*, unless all the *members* of the *Commonwealth* be compelled to be *members* of the *church.*

Truth. If that will do it then *Christ* must be a *temporal king*, I say then, when the *kingdomes* of the earth shall become the kingkoms of the *Lord*, for shall not the *kings* of the *earth* compel all *Christs sheep* to submit unto *Christ Iesus* their heavenly *shepherd*?

Peace. Yea secondly, will it not prove that all those *commonweals*, where *men* are compelled *explicitly* or *implicitly* to be *members* of the *church*, are holy lands of *Canaan*, and if so, Oh that Master *Cotton* and other worthy servants of *God*, may timely consider, whether an explicit forcing of all men to come to *church*, because men cannot be denied to be *members* (at least by implication) with such *members* and *congregations*, with whom they do ordinarily assemble and congregate, although they be injuriously (indeed but injuriously) kept off from *communion* and *participation* of all *ordinances*, which is indeed their *right* and *due* if they be (though but implicitly) constrained and forced to partake of any.

Touching forcing men to church.

Againe (saith Master *Cotton*) it is no *Spanish inquisition* to preserve the *sheep* of *Christ* from the ravening of the *wolves*, but this rather (which is the practice of the discusser) to promote the principal end of the *Spanish inquisition*, to advance the *Romish tyranny*, *idola-*

idolatry and *apostacie*, by proclaiming *impunity* to their whorish and wolvish *emissaries*.

Truth. If the Nations of the world must judge (as they must by Master *Cottons* doctrine) who are *Christs sheep*, and who are *wolves*, which is a *whore* (spiritually) and which the true *Spouse* of *Christ*, and accordingly persecute the *whores* and *wolves*, this then they must do according to their *conscience*, or else (as Master *Cotton* elsewhere) they must suspend. What is this but either to set up a *Spanish inquisition* in all *territories*, or else to hang up all matters of *religion* (by this *suspension* he speakes of) untill the *civil states* of the *world* become *christian*, and godly, and able to judge, *&c.* and what is this in effect, but to practise the very thing which he chargeth on the discusser, to wit, a proclaimning an *impunity*, all the world over, except only in some very few and rare places, where some few *godly Magistrates* may be found rightly informed, that is according to his own *conscience* and *religion*.

A Spanish Inquisition all the world.

Peace. Yea further (which I cannot without great horror observe) what is this but to give a woful occasion at least to all *Magistrates* in the world (who will not suspend their bloody hands from *persecuting*, until Master *Cotton* shall absolve them from their *suspension*, and declare them *godly*, and informed, and fit to draw their swords in matters of *religion*) I say occasion (at least) to all the *civil powers* in the *world*, to persecute (as most commonly they have ever done and do) *Christ* himself, the *Son* of *God* in his poor *Saints* and *servants*.

A twofold fire kindled.

Truth. Yea, if Master *Cotton* and his *friends* of his *conscience* should be cast by *Gods providence* (whose *wheels* turn about continually in the depth of his *councels* wonderfully) I say should they be cast under the reach of opposite *swords*, will they not produce Master *Cottons* own bloody *tenent* and *doctrine* to warrant them (according to their *consciences*) to deal with him as a *wolfe*, an *idolater*, an *heretick*, and as dangerous an *emissary* and *seducer* as any whom Master *Cotton* so accounteth?

That may consume the kindlers.

But lastly, Master *Cotton* hath no reason to charge the discusser with an *indulgence* or *partiality* toward *Romish* and wolvish *emissaries*, his judgement and practise is known so far different, that for departing too far from them (as is pretended) he suffers

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the *brands* and bears the marks of one of *Christs* poor persecuted *hereticks* to this day: All that he pleaded for, is an impartial *liberty* to their *consciences* in *worshiping God* as well as to the *consciences* and *worships* of other their fellow-subjects.

Mathias the second Emperor granting liberty of conscience.

Peace. When *Mathias* the second king of *Hungary, Bohemia* &c. (afterward *Emperor*) granted to his Protestant *subjects* the *liberty* of their *consciences*, doubtless it had been neither *prudence* nor justice, to have denyed equal *liberty* to all of them impartially. But to finish this Chapter, Master *Cotton* lastly affirmeth, that it is not frustrating of the sweet end of *Christs coming* which was to save *souls*, but rather a direct advancing of it, to destroy (if need be) the *bodies* of those *wolves*, who seek to destroy the *souls* of those for whom *Christ* died, and whom he bought with his own blood.

Christ came not to destroy mens bodies, though to save their souls.

Truth. The place referred to, was *Luk. 9.* where the *Lord Jesus* professeth unto the rash zeal of his *Disciples* (desiring that *fire* might come down from heaven upon the *refusers* of *Christ*) that he came not to destroy mens lives but to save them: from whence it appears that *Christ Jesus* had no such intent (as Master *Cotton* seems to make him to have had) to wit, to save *souls* by destroying of *bodies*: but to save *soul* and *body*, and that for *soul* sake, for *religion sake*, for his sake, the *bodies* of none should be destroyed, but permitted to enjoy a temporal being, which also might prove a means of their *eternal life* and *salvation* as it may be was the very case of some of those *Samaritans*.

Examination of CHAP. XLIV.

Peace.

Christian weapons considered.

THe next Scripture produced by the prisoner against *persecution* for cause of *conscience* was 2 *Cor.* 10. The weapons of our *warfare* are not *carnal*, but mighty through *God* &c. unto which Master *Cotton* answers, that he speaks not there of *civil Magistrates*.

It was replied, True, for in spiritual things the *civil weapons* were improper, though in *civil* things most proper and suitable.

Master *Cotton* now replying grants, that it is indeed improper for

for a *Magistrate* to draw his *sword* in matters *spiritual*, yet saith he, about matters spiritual they may, as to *protect* in peace, and to *stave* of *disturbers* and *destroyers* of them: And he adds, if it were unfitting for *carpenters* to bring *axes* and *hammers* to build up the spiritual *kingdome* of the *church* of *Christ*, yet their tooles are fit to build *Scaffolds* for *hearing*.

Truth. It is strange, and in my understanding suits not with the rest of Master *Cottons* discurse, to wit, that which Master *Cotton* here acknowledgeth, that a *Magistrate* is not to draw his sword in spiritual things, but only about them: when throughout the *discourse* he maintaines, that the *Magistrate* must suppress the *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *idolater*, *seducer*, that he must reforme the *church*, punish the *apostate*, and keep the *church* in her *purity*; which whether they be *spiritual matters* or no, let such as be spiritual judge.

Peace. He is (saith Master *Cotton*) to draw his *sword about* spiritual matters, to protect in peace, as a *carpenter* may build *Scaffolds*, &c.

Truth. If Master *Cotton* mean *civil* peace, he knows we agree, for all the *officers* of peace and justice ought to attend that *work*: But if he mean *spiritual*, to wit, that by his *sword* he is to provide, that no man dispute against his *religion*, that no man *preach* nor *write* against it, let it be well weighed, whether the *sword* be not now used in spiritual matters: As also whether in such cases and others before mentioned, the *civil Magistrate* be not bound by Master *Cottons doctrine* to interpose as *Judge* in these *controversies*, to pass *sentence* and to punish whom he judgeth *delinquent*, notwithstanding that both *parties* and both *religions* are *right*, and *righteous* and holy in their own *perswasions* and *consciences*.

A fallacious distinction of using the civil sword, not in, but about spiritual matters.

Peace. Beside, I know you deny not *civil conveniences* in *Gods worship*, and (therefore when there is need upon occasion) the help of a *carpenter* to build *Scaffolds*.

Truth. True, but since Master *Cotton* compares the work of the *Magistrate* to the building of a *carpenters Scaffold*, let us in the fear of *God* consider, if this *similitude* (like some *Scaffolds*) be not all too weak, whereon to hazard so mighty a *weight* and *burthen*: For what should we think of such a *carpenter*, that after

Strange Carpenters.

after he hath built his *Scaffold* for people more conveniently to hear the word of *God*, suffers no man to *preach* in the whole *country* (where his *Scaffolds* are set up) but whom he pleaseth, nor no *doctrine* to be taught but what he liketh; no *church* to be gathered, no persons to make up this *church*, no persons to receive the *Sacrament* but what he approves of: yea and further, with broad *axes* and *hammers*, and other tooles of *violence*, should compel all persons (directly or indirectly) to come to *church*, to make use of his *Scaffold* &c. Whether this be not the true *state* of the *business*, the *Carpenters Son Christ Jesus* will shortly more and more discover and break, and tumble down those painted *Scaffolds* and fairest *houses*, which are not built and framed according to the first most blessed *line* and *rule* of his holy *institution* and *appointments*.

Examination of CHAP. XLV.

Peace.

UPon the unfitness (alleadged) of *spiritual weapons* to batter a *natural* or *artificial* hold, and consequently the unfitness of *natural* and *carnal* weapons to batter the *spiritual* strong holds in the heart, Master *Cotton* replies, that he allows not the *civil state* to make use of their civil weapons to batter down *idolatry* and *heresie* in the souls of men: But if (saith he) the *idolater* or *heretick* grow obstinate, worse and worse, deceiving himself *&c.* Now, he maketh not use of *stocks* and *whips* (which will but exasperate the *malady*) but of *death* and *banishment*, that may cut him off from the opportunity of spreading his *leaven*, &c.

Truth. Methinks in this passage, Master *Cotton* resembleth an armed man, who being almost convinced, or overcome by the *Spirit* of *God* in the former part of this passage (granting how unproper and unfit *carnal weapons* be in *spiritual* matters) yet being loath to yeeld, and holding up the goodness of his cause, he recovers again, and grows more fierce and violent: for bearing more gentle stroaks of *stocks* and *whips*, he cuts deeper with no less then quick and dreadful gashings of *death* or *Banishment*, that the world (were he one of the *worlds Monarchs*) may be rid of such *idolaters, hereticks* &c.

The bloody tenent in plaine English.

Peace.

Peace. Oh, How can Master *Cotton* wash this *Tenent* from *blood!*

Truth. Yea whether this *tenent* be not invented (as once that learned *chancellor* of *England* said of all *violence* against *conscience*) for an *end* or *interest*: or as (that incarnate *devil*) the *Pope* said more plainly of the *fable* of *Christ* for *honor* and *profit*, shall further be examined.

All civil violence in spiritualls, is for interest.

Peace. But who can read the *bloody colour* in this *book*, and yet believe what Master *Cotton* elsewhere saith, that he holds not *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience*?

Truth. Lastly, I aske, whether is it not the same skill and *power* of *Physick* and Surgery, that preserves the *body* and each member in *health* and *welfare*, with that which cuts off (as Master *Cotton* speaks) the *Gangrene* &c? and (since also tis in vaine to go about when the next way is as good or better) what means then Master *Cotton* to bring in the *Magistrate* using *spiritual* means in all lenity and *wisdome* against *heresie* and *idolatry* in the souls of men since *death* or *banishment* will effect the *cure* so quickely?

Peace. To proceed, whereas it was urged, that although *civil weapons* were proper in *spiritual* matters, yet they were not *necessary* &c. Master *Cotton* replies, this is but a meer *pretence*, because the discusser (saith he) denies all Church officers and Church *weapons*.

Truth. This formerly was cleered from all appearance of *pretence*, because during all the *reign* of the *beast* the discusser granteth the impregnable *power* of the *spiritual weapons* of *Christs witnesses Rev* 11. although he see not extant the true form and order of the *kingdome* of *Christ Jesus* which at first he was pleased to establish.

Christs spiritual weapons never wanting.

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds, Although *spiritual weapons* are mighty to purge out *leaven*, and to mortifie the *flesh* of offenders, yet that is not a *supersedeas* to *civil Magistrates* to neglect to punish those sins which the *church* hath censured, if the person censured do proceed to subvert the *truth* of the *Gospel*, or the *peace* of the *church*, or the *souls* of the *people*.

Truth. Why must the *Magistrate* stay until the party censured do proceed so and so? Why could not he have spared the draw-

The civil sword esteemed more powerful then the spiritual.

ing forth of any spiritual *weapons* since they are so effectual to do that which was not in the power and reach of the *spiritual*? Why was not the first *obstinacy* (which merited the spiritual *stroaks* and *censures*) worthy of the *exercise* of the *civil Magistrates* power and zeale?

Peace. Me thinks this is an evident *demonstration* that men repose more *confidence* (however they deceive themselves to the contrary) in the *sword* of *steel* that hangs by the side of the *civil officer*, then in the two-edged sword proceeding out of the mouth of *Christ Jesus*, Rev. 1.

Truth. The truth is, such doctrine makes *Christs spiritual sword* but *serviceable* and *subordinate* unto the *temporal* or worldly *powers*: and presents the *church* but making *essayes* and *trials* of that *cure* which *death* and *banishment* (gilded over with pretence of Gods glory, *&c.*) they think will not faile to effect, *&c.*

Peace. More plainly therefore writes another *Author* (of Master *Cottons* mind) thus: It is known by *experience* that one *reproof* or *threatning* from the *Magistrate*, hath been known to do more then an hundred *admonitions* from the *Minister*.

Truth. Yea no question, to force a *nation* or a *world* of men to play the *idolaters*, *hypocrites*, &c. but *Gods* true *servants* (of whom these three famous *Jews* are type, *Dan.* 3.) know that *God* whom they serve is able to deliver them from such fiery *threatnings* and executions. But if he please to try them (as his *gold*) in such *fiery tryals*, they will not bow down to invented *gods* or *worships*.

Peace. Methinks (dear truth) such *Ministers* deal upon the point and in effect with the *civil Magistrate*, just as that *ambitious Pope* with the *Emperors*, to wit, make them hold the *stirrop* while they mount, *&c.* But I grieve, *&c.* What think you therefore of Master *Cottons* censure of the rest of the discourse in this Chapter, to wit, that it is but (as *Jude* speaks) *clouds* without *waters*, *words* without *matter*, &c.

Truth. I will say no more, but this, Happily (through *Gods* mercy) Master *Cottons* censure may occasion some to view what he despiseth, yea and happily to finde some heavenly *drops* out of those contemned empty *clouds*.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. XLVI.

Peace.

THe 13 to the *Rom.* which the *answerer* quotes, is a *fort* of of such importance in so many *controversies* depending between the Papist and the *Protestant*, and between many *Protestants* among themselves, that all seek to gaine and win it: In this present controversive I finde a wonderful *wresting* of this holy Scripture even by many holy and peaceable (though herein violent and sinful) hands: and let the charge be examined in the fear of *God*, whether slanderous (as Master *Cotton* intimates) or true and righteous.

Rom. 13. *Considered.*

Master *Cotton* freely grants, that this 13 to the *Rom.* exhorteth unto *subjection* to *Magistrates*, and *love* to all men, which are *duties* of the second *table*: But yet withal he answers, that it will not follow that *Magistrates* have nothing to do with the *violation* of the *first table*; and further saith, that it is a plaine case that amongst the *duties* of the *second table* people may be exhorted to honor their *Magistrates*, and *children* may be exhorted to honour their *Parents*; but will it (saith he) thence follow, that *Magistrates* have nothing to do with matters of *religion* in the *church*, or parents in the *family*?

The great fort of The civil Magistrate not charged with the keeping of the seed tables.

Truth. I answer, the *scope* of the *discourse* was to prove, that it pleaseth the *Spirit* of *God* in *Paul* here only to treat of the duties of the *second table*, unto which *limitation* or *restriction* Master *Cotton* speaks not at all, but only granteth in general, that it speaketh of the *duties* of the *second table*: And I still urge and argue, that the *spirit* of *God* discoursing so largely in this *Scripture* of the *duties* of *Magistrates* and people, and treating only of *civil* things, in that *civil relation* between *Magistrates* and people, points as with a finger of *God* at their *error*, that wrest this Scripture to maintaine the power of *Magistrates* and *civil states* in the *spiritual* and *church estate* of the *kingdome* of *Christ*.

Peace. But what may be said to Master *Cottons* argument?

Truth. I answer. If people are bound to yeeld *obedience* in *civil* things to *civil officers* of the *state*, *Christians* are much more bound to yeeld *obedience* (according to *God*, to the *spiritual officers*

ficers of *Christs kingdome*: But how weak is this argument to prove that therefore the *civil officers* of the *state* are constituted *rulers* or *governors*, *preservers* and *reformers* of the *Christian* and *spiritual state*, which differs as much from the *civil*, as the *heavens* are out of the reach of this earthly *Globe* and *Element*?

Examination of CHAP. XLVII.

Peace.

Calvin and Beza's judgement on Rom. 13.

AGainst the Judgement of those blessed *worthies* alleadged, (*Calvin* and *Beza*) confining this passage of *Rom.* 13. to the *second table*, Master *Cotton* here opposeth their *judgement* for the *Magistrates* power in matters of *religion* in other writings of theirs. yea and from this very *Scripture*.

Truth. This their *judgement* for the *Magistrates* power was granted and premised before; yet let the *expressions* of those *worthy* men (produced by the *discusser* on this Chapter) be faithfully weighed, and it will cleerly appear, that (as *James* speaks) those excellent men endeavoured to bring from the same *fountaines sweet* water and *bitter*, which is monstrous and contradictory.

Peace. The pith of what Master *Cotton* further saith in this Chapter, I conceive is couched in these demands: Are not (saith he) all *duties* of *righteousness* to man commanded in the *second table*, as well as all *duties* of *holiness* to *God* are commanded in the *first table*? Is it not a *duty* of *righteousness* belonging to the people of *God*, to enjoy the free passage of *religion*? &c. Is it not an injurious dealing to the people of *God*. to disturbe the truth of *religion* with *heresie*, the *holiness* of *worship* with *idolatry*, the *purity* of *government* with *tyranny*? and he concludes, If so, then these wayes of *unrighteousness* are justly punishable by the *second table*.

Truth. I answer, It hath pleased the *Father* of *lights* to open the eyes of thousands of his servants in these later times, to discerne a fine spun fallacy in the tearm of *unrighteousness* and injury which being twofold *spiritual* against *religion* or *spiritual state*, and

Unrighteousness civil and spiritual.

civil against the *worldly* or *civil state*: It is no *civil injury* (which he grants is the business of this 13 to the *Romanes* in matters of the *second table*) for any man to disturbe or oppose a *doctrine worship* or *government spiritual*: *Christ Jesus* and his *messengers* and servants did. and do profess a *spiritual war* against the *doctrine*, *worship* and *government* of the *Jewish* the *Turkish* and other *Pagan* and *Antichristian religions* of all *sorts* and *sects*, *churches* and *societies*: These all againe oppose and fight against his *doctrine*, *worship*, *government*: And yet this war may be so managed (were men but humane *civil* and peaceable) that no *civil* injury may be commieted on either side.

Spiritual wars without civil disturbance.

Peace. We may then well take up (as Master *Cotton* doth) *Beza's* own words on *Rom.* 13. 4. The *civil sword* must take vengeance on them that do *evil*: It must therefore follow that *hereticks* are not *evil doers* (which is gross *&c.*) Or else that *Pauls* speech is to be restrained to a certaine sort of evil deeds, to wit, such as they call *corporal sins*, of which he saith, he disputeth largely, elsewhere.

Truth. And so (through the help of the most *high*) shall I, in proving, that the second sort, to wit, *external*, *corporal*, *civil evils* between *man* and *man*, *city* and *city*, *kingdomes* and Nations (in this fallen estate of mankind, wherein all *civility*, and *humanity* it self are violated) are alone, and only intended in this *Scripture* by the holy Spirit of *God* and *Paul* his penman.

Examination of CHAP. XLVIII.

Peace.

TO the second argument, to wit, the *incompetency* of those *higher powers* to which *Paul* requires *subjection*, which in his time were the ignorant and *Pagan persecuting Emperors*, and their subordinate *governors* under them, Master *Cotton* replies.

First, It is one thing to yeeld subjection to the *righteous decrees* of *ignorant* and *Pagan Magistrates*: And another thing to obey their *ordinances* in matters of *faith* and worship, and *government* of the *church*: The former of these, *Christians* did yeeld

yeeld unto the *Romane Magistrates*, even *subjection* unto the *death*; the other they did not, nor ought to yeeld, as knowing *God* was rather to be obeyed then *man*.

Truth. Subjection may be either to lawful *governors* or but *pretenders* and *usurpers*: Again *subjection* to *lawful rulers* may be in cases pertaining to their *cognizance*, or in cases which belong not to their, but another *court* or *tribunal*; which undue proceeding is not tolerable in all well-ordered *states*.

The nature of twice-subjection to civil powers.

We use also to say, that *subjection* is either *active* or *passive*: Now although we finde the *Lord* requiring and his *servants* yeelding, all *active* or *passive obedience* to the *Romane Emperors*, and their *deputies*, yet finde we not a tittle of the *Lords* requiring, or his people yeelding any kind of *subjection* to those *Romane Emperors* or their *deputies* in the *matters* of *Christian religion*, except it be of so many hundred thousand of their *bodies*, as the bodies of *Lambs* to the devouring jaws of those *bloody lyons* and *devillish Monsters*, of more then barbarous cruelty.

Of the Roman Emperors power in spirituals.

Peace. But (Secondly, saith Master *Cotton*) although the *Roman Emperors* were incompetent *Judges*, yet the *Word* of *Christ* which commandeth a duty, commandeth also the necessary means which tend to that duty, and therefore giving them a power and charge to execute vengeance on evil doers, and that in matters of spiritual unrighteousnes against the Church, as in matters of civil unrighteousnes against the Commonweal, it behooved them to try and listen after the true Religion, to heare and try all.

Truth. Master *Cotton* may here be intreated to take notice of his own *distinction* of *unrighteousnes* (which a little before he seemed to me to forget) for here he rightly distinguisheth between *spiritual matters* of *unrighteousnes* against the *church*, and *civil unrighteousnes* against the *Commonweal*: I therefore urge (as before) that the *civil Magistrate*, although he punish (according to his *civil place* and calling) *civil unrighteousnes* against the *state*, yet he hath no *warrant* from Master *Cottons* argument, nor any from the *Lord Jesus Christ*, to punish *spiritual unrighteousnes* against the *church*; and why then should that tearm of *unrighteousnes* so generally and fallaciously go undistinguished, and Master *Cotton* thus promiscuously proclaime *idolatry* is *unrighteousnes*, *heresie* is *unrighteonsnes*, and therefore the *civil Magistrate* is bound to punish, *&c?*

2. But

2. But oh that this *maxime* alleadged by Master *Cotton* might receive its due *weight* and *consideration*! hath *Christ* commanded all means, as well as the *duty*? what then is the *reason* that since (as Master *Cotton* argues) that *Christ* hath commanded all the *civil powers* of the *world* such a *spiritual duty*, and yet (I say) that all or most of the *civil states* of the *world* (beyond comparison) are not furnished by *Christ* with those chief *means*, of *grace* and *light*, whereby to *try* and *search*, as Master *Cotton* exhorteth? Or (in some few places, where means of *light* are vouchsafed) with *hearts* and *spirits* unto such a duty? May we not here say, that men make *Christ Jesus* (in appointing such officers, such a duty, without furnishing them accordingly) to forget that maxime of his Type *Solomon* (*Prov. 26.*) He that sendeth a *message* by the hand of a *fool*, cutteth off the *leg*, and drinketh *dammage*? Did not *Christ* know (as well as *John*) that all the *world* lay in *wickedness*, that all the *world* (in a respect) was then *Roman Paganish*, and that all the *world* in after-ages would wonder after the *beast*, and become *Roman Popish*? Or can we imagine that *Christ Jesus* did not foresee the cutting off of *legs*, and the cup of *dammage* and loss which he must drink, in sending his minde and will into the world by such foolish *instruments*?

Foule imputations against Christ Jesus.

Christ permitteth Tyrants over his churches Saints, but appointeth none but his true spiritual Ministers.

Peace. Surely Master *Cotton* would never advise the *civil state* ty send a weighty *cause*, and the *lives* of *souldiers* with such *captaines*: Nor will he set an unruly *childe* under the *rod* of such *teachers* or *reformers*: He will not set forth his *Farme* or betrust his *cattel*, no not his very *hogs* to such keepers.

Truth. On the other hand, let the *government* of *Christs kingdome* be laid upon the right *shoulders*, and we shall finde the admirable *wisdome* and *care* of *Christ*, in the *affaires* of his *kingdom*, in appointing such *messengers* or *Apostles* to gather and found his *churches*, as also ordinary *Pastors*, *Shepherds* or *teachers*, for their feeding and building up *&c.*

Christ Jesus his careful and most wise provision for his kingdome.

The qualification of these the *Spirit* of *God* hath expresly and exactly recorded, wherein (according to the *principle* mentioned by Master *Cotton*) *Christ Jesus* his highest *care* and *wisdome* shines most gloriously in appointing the *means* as well as the *duty* it self.

Peace. But Master *Cotton* addeth, that the *causes* of *religion*, wherein

wherein we allow the *civil Magistrate* to be *Judges* are so *fundamental* and palpable, that no Magistrate studious of Religion in the fear of God, cannot but judge: such as cannot, they ought to forbear, *&c.* the exercise of their power, either in protecting or punishing matters of Religion till they learn so much knowledge of the truth, as may inable them to discerne of things that differ. This forbearance of theirs (saith he) is not for want of authority in their callings nor for want of duty in their consciences but want of evidence to them in the cause: In which case Magistrates are wont to forbear their exercise of power and judgement even in civil cases.

The Cleargies evil dealing with the civil Magistrate.

Truth. O the miserable *allowance* which Master *Cotton* hath brought the *kings* and *governors* of the *world* unto! *We allow them* (saith he) *to judge in such fundamentals and palpable causes* &c. On with what *proud* and domineering feet do all *Popes* tread upon the *necks* even of the highest *kings* and *Emperors*! The *Magistrate* must wait at their *gates* for their poor *allowance*: They shall *judge*, and they shall not *judge*: They shall judge that which is *gross* and *palpable*, and enough to hold the people in *slavery*, and to force them to sacrifice to the *Priests belly*; but the more sublime and nicer *mysteries* they must not *judge* or touch, but attend upon the tables of the *Priests infallibility*.

The nature of a church, but lately discovered since the apostasie.

Peace. Concerning *fundamentals* (*dear truth*) you have well observed, that since the *apostacy*, and the *worlds* wondring after the *beast*, even *Gods* servants themselves (untill *yesterday*) have not so much as heard of such a kind of *church* (and so consequently of such a *Christ* the *head* of it) as Master *Cotton* now professeth: For no other *matter* and *forme* of a *church* (about which Master *Cotton* justly contends) was known I say among *Gods* people themselves, (till yesterday) then the *matter* and form of the stone or *woodden Parish-church*.

Truth. Yea an happy man were Mr. *Cotton* could he rectifie and settle those *foundations* which are yet so controverted amongst *Gods* servants, to wit, the *Doctrine* of *Baptismes*, and laying on of *hands*.

Peace. You may also mention other *foundations*, which want not their great disputes among the *servants* of *Christ*.

Truth. But further, that *Christ Jesus* the *wisdome* of the *Father*,

Father should commit his *wife*, his *church* to be governed in his absence by such who generally know not the *church* and *Saints* but cruelly and blasphemously *persecute* them with *fire* and *sword*, and this with *charge* to suspend most *Magistrates* of the *world*, and that all their dayes from *generation* to *generation*, as appeareth in all parts of the *world* which is such a *monstrous* and *blasphemous Paradox*, that *common reason* cannot digest, nor suffer.

Monstrous Suspensions.

Peace. If *Merchants* and *owners* of *ships* should commit their *vessels* to such men as wanted *ability* to *steer* their *courses*, nay could not tell what a *ship* was yea were never like to know all their dayes surely it were not only matter of *admiration*, but even of *laughter* and *derision*, among all the sons of men.

Truth. But further, How weak is that *distinction* which Master *Cotton* makes between *authority* of *calling*, and *duty* and *evidence* in the *cause*, when in all *judicatures* in the whole world, even amongst the *Pagans*, there is necessarily supposed beside these three, a fourth to wit, *ability* or skill of *discerning* or judging in such *cases*: Now *cognizance* of the *cause* or *evidence* of the *cause* may be wanting in most able *judges*, where matters are not *proper* or not *ripe* for *hearing* and *trials*; whereas our dispute is of the very *ability* or *skil* of judging, which Master *Cotton* himself confesseth is wanting, except in such *Magistrates* as *fear God*, which will be found to be but a little *flock*, especially compared with the many thousands and ten thousands of those who neither know *God* nor *Christ*, nor care to know them, and this in all the *states*, *regions* and *civil governments* of the *world*.

Spiritual courts and Judges.

Examination of CHAP. XLIX.

Peace.

CONcerning *Pauls* appeale to *Cæsar*, it was argued that *Paul* appealed to *Cæsar* even in *spiritual* things; which that *Paul* did not nor could not do without the committing of five great *evils*, was pleaded in this Chapter, Master *Cotton* replies no more but this, The *reasons* are but *Bulrushes*.

Truth. Whether they are so or no, or rather the *Bulrushes* and weak things of *God*, which the gates of hell shall never be able to shake, let the *Saints* judge in the fear of *God*.

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds further in this Chapter, that *Paul* pleadeth he was not guilty in any of those things whereof the *Jews* accused him: those things (saith he) concerned the *Law* of the *Jews* and the *Temple*, which were matters of *religion*; and for trial thereof he appealed to *Cæsar*.

Truth. *Lysias* the chief captaine in his letter to *Felix* the Governor (Chap. 24.) distinguisheth (vers. 29.) into *questions* of the *Jews*, *Law*, and (secondly) matters worthy of *death* or *bonds*: Now tis true the *Jews* charged *Paul* with offences against *religion*, their Law and the Temple: Secondly, against the *civil state*, and with *sedition*. For the first, although it is apparent that all the scope of *Pauls* preaching, was to exalt *Christ Jesus*, and to preach down *Moses* Law; yet at this present time of his apprehension, he had seen cause to honour *Moses* his *institutions* at *Jerusalem* (which was the wisdome of *God* in him for a season, for the Jews sake, and his own *glory*-sake:) And he had not at this present so much as disputed with any in the *temple* (which was not so hainous a matter in *Pauls* eye, as it is well known by his constant practice.) Secondly, for *matters* of *civil crime*, he pleadeth that he stirred up no man, not in the *Synagogue* nor *City*, and professeth (Chap. 25.) that if he had committed ought worthy of *death*, he would not *wave* death: Tis true that *Paul* was charged by the *Iews* with both these kinds of offences, *religious* and *civil* (according to *Lysius* his *distinction*) but that *Paul* appealed to *Cæsar* for *tryal*, that is, for *trial* of his *person* and *cause* in any *religious* respect, as it cannot be collected from the *Scripture* or

Touching Paul appealing to Cæsar.

Pauls

Paul own words: so those five reasons against it, will evidently disprove it, if they be well and throughly weighed in the *balance* of the *Sanctuary* in the sight and fear of *God.*

Peace. I cannot in my understanding clear Master *Cottons* own words from destroying one another. Tis true (saith he) those five sins might have been charged upon *Paul* with some colour, if he had appealed to *Cæsar* whether his *religion*, or *Ministery*, or *Ministration* were of God or no? But yet (saith he) he might appeal whether his *religion*, *Ministry* or *Ministration* were guilty of any *capital crime* against the *Law* of the *Iews*, or the *temple*, or against *Cæsar.* *Pauls appeal to Cæsar.*

Truth. Indeed what difference is there between the judging whether this *Ministery* deserve death (supposing a false *Ministery* is worthy of *death*) or judging whether it be of *God*, or *false* and *idolatrous?* must not he that sits judge of the *desert* and *punishment*, judge also of the *crime* and fact, whether so or not?

Peace. When Master *Cotton* shall affirme (and truly) that the *Magistrates* of *Israel* were to judge a false *prophet* to *death*, will he not also grant that they were to judge whether such persons so charged were false *prophets* or no?

Truth. Yea, and when Master *Cotton* shall affirme (as unjustly) that *civil Magistrates* in all *nations* of the *world* ought to kill or banish *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, *seducers*, out of their *dominions* and *jurisdictions*, doth he intend that they shall try and examine, whether they be such and such or no? But blessed be the *Father* of *lights*, who hath now opened the eyes of so many thousands of his people to discern the *difference* between the *Forts* and *Bulwarks* of *God*, here called *Bulrushes*, and those *strong holds* and high *imaginations* of men (erected against the *crown* and *kingdome* of the *Lord Iesus*) which in Gods holy season shall more and more be found to be but *straws* and *Bulrushes.*

Examination of CHAP. L.

Peace.

TO the arguing against the *Magistrates civil* power in *spiritual* causes taken from the *nature* of the *Magistrates* weapons (a *material* earthly and worldly *sword* distinguished from the two-edged sword of *Christs spiritual* power in the mouth of *Christ*) Master *Cotton* replies,

First, the *Magistrate* must governe his people in *Righteousness*, and it is *Righteous* to defend his people in their *Spiritual* Rights, as well as in their *civil* Rights.

Spiritual rights and civil.

This *distinction* of *spiritual* and *civil Righteousness* doth truely anatomize the cause; It is righteous for the *Magistrates* to defend their *subjects* in their *civil Rights*, for it is within the compass of his *calling*, being essentially *civil*: And unless we also grant him a *spiritual calling* and *office* (which is the Point denied) 'tis beyond his *calling* and compass to judge of what is *spiritual Right* and *wrong*, and accordingly to pass a *spiritual* sentence, and and execute and inflict *spiritual* punishment.

The civil Magistrate not bound to defend spiritual rights.

Peace. Methinks I may add, if the *Magistrate* be bound to defend his *Subjects* in their *spiritual* rights, then as he is bound impartially to defend all his *subjects* in their several and respective *civil Rights*, so is he bound as impartially to defend all his *subjects* in their several and respective *spiritual Rights*; and so accordingly to defend the *Iews*, the *Papists*, and all several sorts of *Protestants* in their severall and respective *consciences*; or else, he must sit down in *Christs* stead, and produce a *Royal* charter from the *New Testament* of *Christ Iesus* to judge difinitively which is the onely right, to pass *sentence*, and execute *spiritual* punishment on all offenders, &c.

Peace. But Master *Cotton* adds a second, the sword was *Material* and civil in the *Old Testament*.

I answer, If Master *Cotton* granted a *national church* under the Gospel, his Argument were good; but when he grants that *national church* under the *Jews* (as afterward in this chapter he doth) did type out the *Christian church* or *churches* in the *Gospel*, why must he not grant that material Sword of the *Church of Israel*

rael types out the *spiritual sword* of *Christ Iesus*, proceeding out of his mouth, and cutting off offenders *spiritually* with *spiritual* and soul-*punishments*? And I add, As the sword was *material*, so also was the *Tabernacle* and *Temple* worldly and *material*; which he denies not to be typical of the *spiritual Temple* of *Christ* and his *Church* in the New Testament.

Israel a type of the Christian Church.

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds (Thirdly) that the *Magistrates Sword* may well be call'd the *Sword* of *God*, as the Sword of War, *Iudg.7.*

Truth. As it was call'd *Iehovahs* Sword in that typical Land; So must it needs be typical as well as the Land it self, which is also called by the Prophets *Iehovah's Land*, *Emanuels land*; which *names* and *titles* I think Master *Cotton* will not say are competent and appliable to any other *Lands* or *Countries* under the *Gospel*, but onely to the Spiritual *Canaan* or *Israel*, the Church and people of God, the true and onely *Christendome.*

The true and only Christendome.

Peace. But (Fourthly) saith he, they are called Gods, and shall they not attend *Gods* work?

Truth. In the State of *Israel* they were *Gods* deputies to attend the causes of *Israel*, the then onely *Church* of *God*: But Master *Cotton* can produce no parallel to that, but the *Christian* Churches and people of God, not *national* but *Congregational* &c.

2. Grant the *Magistrates* to be as *Gods*, or strong *ones* in a *Resemblance* to *God* in all *Nations* of the *world*, yet that is still within the compass of their calling, which being confessed to be *essentially civil*, the *civil work* of these servants of the *Commonweal* is Gods work, as well as *Paul* calls (in a sence) the work of the servants of the *Family*, *Gods* work, for which he pays the wages, *Eph.5.*

Lastly, for *spiritual* causes we know the *Lord Iesus* is call'd *God*, *Psal.45. Heb.1.* whose *Scepter* and *Kingdome* being essentially *spiritual*, the *administrations* which he hath appointed are also *spiritual*, and of an heavenly and soul *Nature.*

Peace. Master *Cotton* (Fifthly) adds, *Revel.17.* The *Kingdoms* of the *World* are become the *Kingdoms* of the *Lord*, and of his *Christ.*

Truth. How the *Kingdomes* of the *World* shall become the *Kingdomes* of *Christ*, is no smal *mystery* and *controversie*; but grant

grant it to be true, that either *Christ Iesus* personally, or by his *Deputies* the Saints, shall rule all the *Nations* of the *world* in hearing and determining all *civil Controversies*: Yet why doth Master *Cotton* draw an Argument from this *Prophecie*, of what shall be in one *Age* or *Time* of the World, and to come, to prove an *Universal power* and *Exercise* of such power in all *Ages* and *times* since *Christ Iesus* his first comming to this day?

Peace. Me thinks Master *Cotton* may as well argue, that because it was prophesied that a *Virgin* should conceive, and bring forth a child in *Gods* appointed season, that therefore all *Virgins* must so conceive and so bring in forth all *ages* of the *world*.

But, (Lastly) saith Master *Cotton*, although the *nations* have not that typical *holiness* which the nation of Israel had; Yet all the Churches of the Saints have as much truth and realty of *holiness* as *Israel* had: And therefore, what holy care of *Religion* lay upon the *Kings* of *Israel* in the *Old Testament*, the same lyeth now upon Christian *Kings* in the *New Testament*, to protect the same in their Churches.

Christ Jesus in himself and his spiritual officers the onely Key of Israel.

Truth. Oh how neer the precious *Iewels*, and *Bargains* of *Truth*, come sometimes Gods Saints, and yet miss of the finding and going through with it! The *churches* of the New *Testament*, Master *Cotton* grants succeed the *Church* of *Israel*; The *Kings* and *Governours* therefore of the *churches* of *Christ* must succeed those *Kings* What King and Governours of *Israel* are now to be found in the *Gospel*, but *Christ Iesus* and his Servants, deputed in his absence, which are all of a *spiritual* consideration? What is this to the *Nations*, *Kings*, and *Governours* of the world; where few *Kings*, few *Nobles*, few Wise, are cald to profess *Christ*? Is not Christ *Iesus* the onely King of *Israel*; and are not all his holy ones made *Kings* and *Priests* unto *God*? And unto his *Saints*, and his *spiritual* officers *Administration* in the midst of them, is his *Kingdomes* power committed in his absence. This *spiritual* power, however the *Pope* and *prelates*, *Kings* and *Princes*, *Parliaments* and *General Courts*, and their respective *Officers* of *Justice* (to be honoured and obeyed in *civil things*,) I say however they have challenged and assumed this *Kingly* Power of the Son of *God*, yet the *King* of *Kings*, *Christ* Jesus hath begun to discover, and will never leave until he hath made it clear as the

Christ Jesus robd of his crown.

the Sun Beames, that he is robd of his *crown*, and will shake, and break, all the *nations* and *Powers* of the world until his Heavenly *crown* be again restored.

Examination of CHAP. LI.

Peace.

TO the fourth *Argument* (Rom. 13.) from the *civil rewards* due to *Magistrates*; to wit, *custom, Tribute*, &c. Master *Cotton* replies, That even the *contributions* of the *Saints*, are called *carnal* things; shall therefore their work be called *carnal?* It is true (saith he) the *contributions* of the *Saints* are called *holy*, because they are given to God for his service about holy things; So the *reward* given to *Magistrates*, is for their service about *Righteous* things: And it is righteous (saith he) to preserve the purity of *Doctrine VVorship*, and *Government*, which if *Magistrates* do not, they do not deserve all their *wages*.

Of custome tribute, &c.

Truth. It is true that *money* or *monies-worth* is the same for value in the *contribution* of the *Saints*, and in that of *custome, tribute* &c; and yet Master *Cotton* grants a *Holiness* of the *Saint's contribution*, which he doth not affirme of *custome, tribute*, &c.

There is also a two fold way disputed, of preserving of the purity of *Doctrine worship*, &c.

Spiritual defence for spiritual right, &c.

First, That which I plead for, by *spiritual weapons* appointed by *Christ Iesus*.

Secondly, that of Civil *weapons*, *Force* of *Armes*, &c. which Master *Cotton* affirmes, and I deny to be ever appointed by *Christ Iesus*, or able to accomplish a *spiritual* end, but the Contrary.

Peace. Me thinks Master *Cottons addition*, not a little concernes my self in the peace of all Citties and *Kingdomes*: for if (as Master *Cotton* saith) *Magistrates* shall not deserve all their *wages* except they preserve the *purity* of *Doctrine, worship*, &c. (which upon the point is that *Doctrine* Worship and *Government* Master *Cotton* approves of) what is this (in effect) but to deny *tribute, custome subsidies*, &c. to *Caesar*, the *Kings* and *Governours* of the Earth, if they prove *Hereticks, Idolaters?* &c. I cannot see, but this

this in plaine *English* tendeth to little less then the *Popish bloudy Doctrine* of deposing *heretical Kings, &c.*

But Master *Cotton* further adds, that *spiritual wages* are to be paid to *Magistrates*, 1 *Tim.* 2. to wit, *Prayers, Intercessions* &c. If therefore (saith he) the *Magistrates* suffer their Subjects to live a quiet life in *ungodlinesse* and *Dishonesty*, the *Magistrate* fals short of returning *spiritual* recompence for the *spiritual Duties* and *services* performed for them.

Toushing prayer for all in authority.

1 *Tim.* 2.

Truth. Those prayers are not the proper *wages* paid to *Magistrates* for their work; for then should they not be paid (as the *Spirit* of *God* there exhorteth) to all men, whether Magistrates or not.

Peace. And I may add, nor paid to those *Magistrates* that are *Idolatrous Blasphemous Persecutors*: But those *prayers* were to be poured forth for such *Magistrates* (such as most of the *Magistrates* in the *world* then were and are.) Those prayers then were a general *Duty* to be paid to all men, and especially to the *chiefe* and *principal*, *Kings* and all that are in *Authority*.

Truth. Now further, wherein it is said that such Magistrates as suffer the people to live in ungodlinesse, fall short in returning spiritual Recompence: I answer, By this *Doctrine*, most of the free Inhabitants of the *world*, who live in ignorance of *God*, and in abominable *Religions* without him, must yet be supposed to choose and set up such *Ministers* or Servants of *civil Justice* amongst them, who during their *termes* of *administration* or service, should not suffer their *Choosers* and *Makers* to enjoy their owne *Conscience*, but force them to that, which their *Officers* shall judge to be *Godlinesse*; but the *neck* of no free people can bow to such a *Yoak* and *Tyrany*.

Gross Slavery.

Peace. But (lastly) to that Argument of *Rom.* 13. from the *title* which God gives to *Magistrates* to wit, Gods *Ministers*, and to the *Distinction* of Spiritual Ministers for *spiritual*, and *civil Ministers* for civil matters; Master *Cotton* replies. If *Magistrates* be Gods Ministers or *Servants*, then must they do his work, and be for *God* in matters of *Religion*: And further, saith he, *Magistracy* is of God, for *light* of Nature, and not onely for *civil* things, but also in matters of *Religion*; and he produceth divers instantces of *Pagans zeal* for their Religion, and worship.

Civil Ministers and Spiritual.

Truth. Because *Magistrates* are Gods Servants, or Ministers *civil*,

civil, and receive *civil* wages for their *civil* service; will it therefore follow that they must attend, and that chiefly, and principally a *spiritual* work? That *noble-man* or *Lord*, that sets one to keep his *children*, and another to keep his *sheep*, expects not of him appointed to keep his sheep (though a *Minister* or *Servant*) to attend upon the keeping of his *children*, nor expects he of the *waiter* on his *children* to attend the keeping of his *sheep*.

The God of heaven hath several sorts of Ministers.

Tis true, that *Magistrasie* is of God, but yet no otherwise then *Mariage* is being an *estate* meerly *civil* and humane, and lawfull to all *Nations* of the World, that know not God.

Tis true that *Magistrates* be of God from the *light* of nature; but yet, as the *Religions* of the World, and the *worlds* zealous contending for them, with persecuting of others, are from the *Father* of lies and murther from the beginning; so seldome is it seen, that the *nations* of the world have persecuted or *punished* any for error, but for the *truth*, condemned for error.

Ordinarily the Truth is persecuted.

Peace. Alas, who sees not that all *nations* and people bow down to *Idols* and *Images* (as all the world did to *Nebuchadnezzars* Image.) If any amongst them differ from them, it is commonly in in some *truths*, which God hath sent amongst them, for witnessing of which they are persecuted.

Truth. Your observation (deare *peace*) is evident from the *cases* of those *Philosophers*, by Master *Cotton* alledged; how weak and poor therefore is that *Argument* from the zeal of *Pagans, &c.* It is evident that such *Builders*, frame by no other then that of *nature* depraved and rotten, and not by the *Goulden* reed of the glorious gospel of *Christ Jesus*.

Examination of CHAP. LI.

Peace.

IN the discourse concerning that terme, *Evil*, Master *Cotton* produceth *Pareus*, who makes that *Evil* punishable by the *Magistrate*, fourfold, *natural*, civil, *moral*, and *spiritual*.

Truth. That excellent and holy *witness* of Christ Jesus (in many of his precious *truths*) *Pareus* being here produced without Scripture or *Argument*, for the *Magistrates* punishing of the fourth sort of *evil*; to wit *spiritual*: not answering my *Arguments* brought against such an *Interpretation*, gives me occasion of no further answer to Master *Cotton* or him in this place.

Peace. Whereas it was alleadged, that the *Elders* of the *New English Churches*, in the model prohibite (*expresly*) the *Magistrates* from the punishing or taking notice of some *Evils*, and that therefore as they ascribe to the *Civil Magistrates*, more then God gives, so they take away and disrobe him of that *Authority*, which God hath cloathed him with: Master *Cotton* replies, when we say that the Magistrate is an avenger of *evil*, we mean of all sorts or kindes of *evil*, and not every particular of each kind; and further he saith, that *domestick evils* may be healed in a domestick way.

Touching the tearme Evil, Rom.13.

Truth. I readily concur with him, that the *Magistrate* may not punish *evils* that he knowes not of in a due and orderly *way* sufficiently proved before him; as also, that many *domestick* evils are best healed in a *domestick* way; but yet that *Limitation* added, to wit, without acquainting the *Church* first) seems to bind the *Magistrates* hand, where no true *Church* of Christ is, to acquaint with such things) yea and further where it is, why should the *Magistrate* be denied to exercise his power in cases meerly *civil* (the old practice of the *Popish* Church?) And to whom should the *Servant* or *Child* or *Wife*, petition and complaine against *oppression*, unless to the publike *Father*, *Master*, and *Husband* of the *Commonweal*? And therefore from their own Interpretation, they may well *spare* that strict and literal *aception* of the word *evil* and cease to cry *Heresie* is *evil*, *Idolatrie evil*, *Blasphemie evill*, &c.

The civil Magistrate robbed of his civil power.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. LIII,

Answering to

Chap. LIII, LIV, LV.

Peace.

IN these three Chapters, the last Reason which the Author of the *Arguments* against *persecution* produced, was discussed; to wit, that the *disciples* of *Christ* should be so far from persecuting, that contrariwise they ought to bless such as curse them, *&c.* and that because of the freeness of *Gods grace*, and the deepness of his *counsels*, calling home them that be enemies, *persecutors*, *no people*, yea some at the last hour. In answer to which, Master *Cotton* complaineth that two of his *Answers* were omitted; and suspecteth that as *children* skip over hard places, so they were skipt over, *&c.*

Truth. It is true, those two *answers* were omitted, not because the chapter was too hard, *&c.* but because the Discusser saw (nor sees) not any *controversie* or *difference* between Master *Cotton* and himself in those passages; and also studying *brevity* and *contraction*, as Master *Cotton* himself hath done, omitting far more, and contracting three Chapters in one, in this very passage.

Upon the same ground, I see no need of mentioning his Reply in these three Chapters, wherein Master *Cotton* concurs in the point of the *necessity* of tolerating even notorious offenders in the *State* in some cases.

Peace. The result of all *agitations* in this passage is this; Master *Cotton* denies not but that in some cases a notorious *malefactor* may be tolerated, and consequently (as I understand him) an *heretick*, *seducer*, *&c.* But that ordinarily it is not lawful to tolerate a *seducing teacher*, and that from the clearness of *Gods* command, *Deut.* 13. and from the reason of it, vers. 10, *Because he hath sought to turn thee away from the Lord thy God.* Withal he concludes, that all *Moses capital* Politicks are *eternal.*

Of toleration which Master Cotton in cases makes large enough.

Truth. Thus far is gained, that it was no vain exception against Master *Cotton*'s general *proposition*, to wit, that it is evil to tolerate

notorious *evil doers, seducing teachers, scandalous livers*, because he sees cause of toleration in some cases.

Peace. Yea but, saith he, In ordinary cases it is not lawful to tolerate, from *Deut.* 13.

The land of Israel a type.

Truth. I am of Master *Cotton's* minde: It is not lawful for *Israel*, that is, the Church of God, to tolerate: and the *reason* it pleaseth the *Lord* to alleadge, is *eternal.* But what is this to the *nations* of the *world*, the *states, cities*, and *kingdoms* thereof? Let Master *Cotton* finde out any such *land* or *state* that is the *Church* and *Israel* of God. Yea Master *Cotton* confesseth in a fore-going passage, that the Church is the *Israel* of God: Then must he with me acknowledge that this *Deut.* 13. only concerns the *Israel* or *Church* of God, whom *Christ Jesus* furnished with spiritual *weapons* against such spiritual *offenders.*

Peace. But I wonder that Master *Cotton* should say that *Moses capitals* are *eternal.*

Truth. I wonder not, because I have seen in print sixteen or seventeen *capital* evils (a great part of them of a *spiritual* nature) censured with death in *New England.*

And yet again, me thinks it is wonderful, since Master *Cotton* knows how many of *Moses capitals* were of a *ceremonial* nature. The breach of the *sabbath*, the not coming to keep the *passe-over*, (for neglect whereof the *Israelites* were to be put to death) how can Master *Cotton* make these *eternal* in all nations?

Peace. How many *millions* of *millions* of Heads (and not a few of the highest) in our own and other *Nations*, would soon feel the *capital calamity* of such a *capital bloody* Tenent, if Master *Cotton* swayed the *Scepter* of some of the worlds former or present *Cæsars?*

Truth. And yet I readily affirm, that *spiritually* and *mystically* in the *Church* and *Kingdom* of *Christ*, such evils are to be spiritually (and so eternally) punished.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIV, Replying to Chap. LVI. *Examined.*

Peace.

IN this 56 Chap. were observed two *evils* in Mr. *Cottons* conjoyning of *seducing teachers, and scandalous livers*, as the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work to suppress and punish: Unto which Master *Cotton* replies, First, That he no where makes it the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work to suppress seducing teachers, and scandalous *livers* saying, that it ought to be the care of the *church* to suppress and punish seducing teachers, and scandalous livers in a *church*-way, as well as the *Magistrates* in a *civil* way.

Truth. By this Doctrine, Master *Cotton* will seem to deny it, to be the *Magistrates* proper and adequate object to punish scandalous livers, because the *church* also (saith he) is to make it her work also. *Touching false and seducing Teachers.*

It is true, if a scandalous liver be of the *church*, and fall into any scandal, she by the *rule* and *power* of *Christ* ought to recover him in the *spirit* of *meekness*: but yet the punishing of him with temporal punishment, who will deny it to be the proper work of the *civil state?*

But (Secondly) what if the *seducing teacher*, or *scandalous* liver, be neither of them members of the Church (and the *church* hath nought to do to judge them without) will not Master *Cotton* then affirm the seducing Teacher, or scandalous, liver to be the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work?

Peace. When it was excepted against that things of such a different *nature* and kind, as *seducing* Teachers, and scandalous livers, should be coupled together at the *civil* Bar? Master *Cotton* replies, that both these agree in one common kind, to wit, they are *evil* and destructive to the common good of *Gods* people, which ought to be preserved both in *church* and *Commonweal*: If a man shall say (saith he) that the *work* of *creation* on the sixth day, was either of *man* or of *Beast*, is here any such commixture. *Monstrous Mixture.*

Truth. Were Master *Cotton* the *worlds* Monarch, what bloody

bloody *reformations* or destructionsrather, would he fill the world withal, if he walk by such rules and principles? for, what *religions* or almost men (all the world over) would he finde not opposite and destructive to *Gods* people.

2. But (Secondly) an historical narration of *Gods* works on man or *Beast*, Birds, *Fishes*, and all creatures *Cœlestial* and *Terrestial* is one thing: But to mix them together in *doings* or *sufferings inconsistent* with, and improper to their kinds is another thing, far different and insufferable: As for a man to affirme that a man and a beast sin'd against their *Maker*, and therefore were justly punished with spiritual *blindness* and *hardness* of heart, loss of *Gods Image* &c. The same difference and no less is between transgressors against the *heavenly state* and *kingdome* of *Christ*, and the *earthly state* or *Commonweal* of *Cities*, *kingdomes*, &c.

The great difference of evil and sin, as against the civil or spiritual estate.

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds, that it is more tolerable for seducing Teachers to *seduce* those who are in the same gall of *bitterness*, as for *Pagans* to seduce *Pagans* &c.

Truth. That is but in the degree, and so (according to his supposition) must be punished gradually; but what is this to prove *seducing* Teachers as well as *scandalous* livers, the joynt object of the *civil sword?*

Peace. Why doth Master say it is more tolerable for *Pagans* to seduce Pagans, Antichristians, Antichristians? What Scripture doth he produce for this toleration, this *indulgence*, this *partiality*? All that is here said, is this, We look at it as more tolerable?

Truth. One thing is shroudly to be suspect in this matter, and that is a most *unchristian partiality*, in directing the sword of the *Magistrate* to fall heaviest on such seducers only, as trouble *his* conscience, his Doctrine, Worship, and Government: suppose in some of the Cities of *Holland*, *Poland*, or *Turkie* (where some freedome is) that *Jews*, *Pagans*, *Antichristians* and *Christians* (that is Christians of Master *Cottons conscience*) together with *Turkes* were commingled in civil cohabitation and commerce together: Why now shall that *Turke* that hath seduced one of Master *Cottons* conscience to *Mahumetanisme* be more punished for that crime, then for turning a *Jew*, *Pagan*, or Papist to his *Belief* and worship? What warrant shall the *Magistrate* of such a *city* or place

Gross partiality the bloody doctrine of persecution.

place finde to their *souls*, either for striking at all with the *civil* sword in such a case? or else in dealing such partial blows among the people?

Peace. I fear that *Gods* own people (of this opinion) see not the deceitfulness of their own heart, crying up the *Christian Magistrate*, the *Christian Magistrate*, Nursing fathers, Nursing mothers, *&c.* when all is but to escape the bitter sweeting of *Christs* cross, so dashing in pieces the most wise *councels* of the *father*, concerning his blessed Son and his followers, to whom he hath (ordinarily) alotted in this *world*, the *portion* of *sorrow* and *suffering*, and of *raigning* and *triumphing* after the *battel* fought and *victory* obtained in the world approaching.

Great shifting to escape Christs cross.

Peace. But Master *Cotton* will say, that in such fore-mentioned cases, such *Magistrates* must suspend punishments for *religion*, *&c.*

Truth. I say, consequently all or most of the *Magistrates* in the world must suspend and none but some few of his *conscience* (by his *doctrine*) shall be found fit, to use the *civil sword*, in matter of *Religion*, and that is (in plaine *English*) to fight only for *his conscience*.

Peace. But to proceed it will be hard (saith Master *Cotton*) for the discusser to finde *Antichristian seducers* clear from *disobedience* to the *civil laws* of the *state*, in case that *Antichrist* (to whom they are sworn) shall excommunicate the *civil magistrate*, and prescribe the *civil state* to the invasion of his *followers*.

Truth. Most properly *seducing teachers* sin against the *church* and *spiritual kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, which is erected and governed according to *Christ Jesus*, she is a Castel or Fort sufficiently provided with all sorts of heavenly *ammunition* against all sorts of her *spiritual* adversaries: yea and in the desolation of the *churches* (during the *Apostacy*) *Christ Jesus* (as I have elsewhere observed) hath not left his *witnesses* destitute of terrible *defence* against all gainesayers: But grant (what Master *Cotton* supposeth) such seducers from *obedience* to the *civil state*, &c. Such as the Seminaries and bringers over of Pope *Pius* the 5 his Bul against Queen *Elizabeth* &c. The answer is short and plain, civil officers bear not the sword in vain, when the *civil state* is assaulted as the *spiritual officers* and *governors* of the church bear not in

Christian weapons.

vain

vain the *spiritual* and *two-edged sword* coming out of the *mouth* of Christ.

Peace. Whereas now (secondly) there was observed by the Discusser in such coupling of [*seducing teachers* & *scandalous livers*] a silent and implicite *justification* of the Jews and Gentiles their coupling *Christ Jesus* and his *followers*, as *seducing teachers* with *scandalous livers*, *Christ* between *two thieves*, &c. The sum of what Master *Cotton* replies, is, that the *Lord Jesus* and his *followers* suffering under those names, weakens not the hand of *Authority* to punish such who are *seducing teachers* & *scandalous livers*.

Christ Jesus between two Thieves.

Truth. It hath ever been the portion of the Lord Jesus and his followers (for the most part theirs onely) to be accounted *seducing teachers*, *deceivers* and *cheaters* of the people, *blasphemous* against God, *seditious* against the State; and accordingly to be numbred (as *Christ Jesus* between *two thieves*) both in *esteem* and *punishment* with scandalous and notorious *malefactors*; and this for no other cause, but cause of *conscience* in spiritual matters, and most commonly for differing from and witnessing against the several *State* and *City-Religions* and *Worships* wherein they lived.

Peace. If the *Jews* (notwithstanding their fair *colours* to the contrary) walking in the doctrine of *Persecution* for *conscience*, justified their *fathers* for murthering the *Prophets*, &c. I cannot (*dear Truth*) but subscribe to your sorrowful observation that Master *Cotton* and others (otherwise excellent servants of God) in coupling *seducing teachers* and *scandalous livers*, as the proper object for the *civil sword* to strike at, they do no other but act the *Jews* true *Antitype*, coupling *Christ Jesus* the *seducing teacher* with *Barabbas* the *scandalous liver* and *murtherer*.

Truth. Yea, and who sees not how often *Barabbas* the *scandalous liver* is cried out of the *Magistrates* hands by the scandalous people, while *Christ Jesus* in his servants is cried to the *Cross*, to the *Gallows*, to the *Stake*, to *Banishment*, &c. Their Persecutors also are applauded, for (not persecuting men for their *Consciences*, but) *righteously*, *legally* (and with great sorrow) punishing them for sinning against their own *conscience*, for disturbing of the *civil State* and *peace*, for contemning of *Magistrates*, *Kings*, *Queens*, and *Parliaments*, for blaspheming *God*, and for seducing and destroying the souls of the people.

Horible Hypocrisie of all persecutors

CHAP.

CHAP. 55. *Replying to* CHAP. 66. *Exam:*

Peace. THe Discusser admired in this Chap: how Mr. *Cotton* should alledge (*Revel.*2.) *Christs* charge against the *Church* of *Pergamus* for tollerating them that hould the *Doctrine* of *Balaam*, and against the *Church* of *Thiatira* for tollerating *Jezabell* to teach and seduce: Mr *Cotton* here replies, that he meant not in alledging those Scriptures to prove it unlawfull for *Magistrates* to tollerate seducing *Teachers*, but unlawfull for *Churches*: adding that the Letter of the *Prisoner* was so stated, in *generall tearmes* that he knew not (upon the point) what *Tolleration* or *Persecution* should be meant or intended, otherwise then *generall* against all *Persecution* for *Conscience*, withall affirming that an unjust *Excommunication* is as true Persecution as unjust *Banishment*.

Christs charge to Pergamus *and* Thiatira *against Tolleration examined.*

Truth. It is true what Mr *Cotton* saith, An unjust *Excommunication* is as true *Persecution* as an unjust *Banishment*, and therefore some may justly complaine against Mr *Cotton* and others, for practicing such *persecution* in both kindes, being not onely *banished* from their *civill State*, but unjustly (and after the Popes way) *Excommunicated* also, from their *Churches*, but of that more elsewhere.

False Excommunication one kinde of persecution.

2. We doe not in ordinarie *English* read, but that the word *Persecution* is taken for *civill corporall violence* and punishment inflicted on the *body* for some spirituall and religious matter; according to the Lord *Christ* his words to *Paul*, Acts 9. *Saul, Saul*, why *persecutest* thou me?

The word Persecution *how ordinarily it is taken.*

3. The passages in the *Letter* shew that the whole *scope* of the *Letter* was to contend against outward *violence* and *corporall affliction* in *matters* of *Conscience*.

Peace. It may not be a lost Labour (Deare *Truth*) to draw a taste of some passages in the *Letter*.

Truth. For further satisfaction, my *paines* shall be a *pleasure*; and first

From the *Arguments* from holy *Scripture*, observe *Luc.* 9. the *Lord Christ* reproving his two *zealous Disciples*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of: The Son of Man is not come to destroy mens *lives*, but to save them.

Persecution ordinarily implies corporall violence.

Againe, That of the *Prophets*, *Isaiah* and *Micah*, They shall breake their *Swords* into *Mattocks*, and their *Speares* into *Sithes*.

Againe, *Christs* charge unto his *Disciples*, that they should be so farre from *persecuting* those that would not be of their *Religion*, that when they were *persecuted*, they should *pray* and *blesse*, &c.

Peace. These holy *Passages* (Me thinks) are not unlike the Stones in *Davids* sling, smooth and plaine enough, yet powerfull and dreadfull, both against this *Goliah Tenent* of *persecution*, and also prove a corporall *persecution* intended.

Truth. Now a taste of the speeches of severall *Kings* produced by the *prisoner*.

1. That of King *James*; *God* never loves to plant his *Church* by *Violence* and *Bloudshed*.

Speeches of Princes against Persecution.

2. That of *Stephen* King of *Poland*; I am King of *Men*, not of *Consciences*, of *Bodies*, not of *Soules*.

3. Of the King of *Bohemia*; When ever Men have attempted any thing in this *violent course*, the issue hath been ever pernicious, and the cause of great and wonderfull *Innovations*.

4. Another of King *James*; That he was resolved not to *persecute* or *molest*, or suffer to be *persecuted* or *molested* any Person whatsoever, for matter of *Religion*.

In the third place, a taste of the *Speeches* of the ancient Writers produced by the *Prisoner*.

1. That of *Hilarius*: That *Church* which formerly by enduring *misery* and *imprisonment*, was knowne to be the true *Church*, doth now terrifie others by *imprisonment*, *banishment*, and *miserie*.

2. Of *Jerome*; *Heresie* must be cut off with the *Sword* of the *Spirit*, Let us strike through with the Arrowes of the *Spirit*; implying, not with other weapons.

3. Of *Luther* in his Booke of the *Civill Magistrate*; The *Lawes* of the *Civill Magistrate* extend no further, then over the *Bodies* and *Goods*. And againe upon *Luk.* 22. It is not the true *Catholike church* which is defended by the *Secular Arme* or humane *Power*.

Lastly, The *Papists* in their Booke for *Tolleration*; When *Christ* bids his *Disciples* to say, *peace* to this house, he doth not send *Pursevants* to ransack or spoyle the house.

Lastly,

Lastly, The *Prisoner* in answering some *Objections*, concludeth; It is no *prejudice* to the *Common-wealth*, if *Libertie* of *Conscience* were granted to such as feare *God* indeed: He also alledged that many *Sects* lived under the *Government* of *Cæsar*, being nothing hurtfull unto the *Common-weale*.

Peace. From these severall Tasts (Deare *Truth*) I cannot imagine how the *Prisoner* can be understood to cast the least glance unto spirituall *persecution* or *prosecution*, as Mr *Cotton* in this Chap: calls it: But to end this Chapter: When as the *Power* of *Christ Jesus* in his *Church* was argued sufficient for *spirituall* ends, Mr *Cotton* grants both for the *healing* of sinners, and for keeping of the *Church* from *Guilt*, but not for the preventing of the *spreading* of *false Doctrine*, among those out of the *Church*, and in private among *Church*-Members: nor sufficient to cleare the *Magistrates* of a *Christian State* from the Guilt of *Apostasie* in suffering such *Apostates* amongst them, &c.

Truth. I have in other Passages of this Discourse proved;

1. That *Christ Jesus* (whiles his *Churches* and *Ordinances* flourished, and since the *Apostasie* of *Antichrist* in the hands of his *Witnesses*) hath gloriously and sufficiently furnished his Servants for all *spirituall* cases of all sorts, *defending*, *offending*, &c.

2. That there is no other *Christian State* acknowledged in the *New Testament*, but that of the Christian Church or Kingdome, and that not Nationall but Congregationall. *No Civill Christian State.*

3. That the *Apostles* or *Messengers* of *Christ Jesus* never addressed themselves by Word or Writing to any of the *Civill States* wherein they lived and taught, and were mightily opposed and blasphemed. I say they never ran to borrow the *Civill Sword*, to helpe the two edged Sword of *Christ Jesus*, against *Opposers*, *Schismaticks*, *Hereticks*. The *Lord Jesus* was a wiser *King* then *Solomon*, even *Wisdome it selfe*, and cannot without great *Dishonour* and *Derogation* to his *Wisdome* and *Love*, be imagined to leave open such *Gaps*, such *Leakes*, such *Breaches* in the *Ship* and *Garden* of his *Church* and *Kingdome*. *Christs Sword.*

The Exam: of Chap. 56. *replying to* 58. *&* 59.

Peace. TO the first observation, that Mr *Cotton* urgeth that *Princes* are nurcing *Fathers* to *feede* and *correct* (and consequently must judge of *feeding* and *correction*, and all men are bound to submit to such their *feeding* and *correction*:) Mr *Cotton* sayth, This is false and fraudulent so to collect, and these are *devised Calumnies.*

Truth. It will evidently appeare, how greatly Mr *Cotton* forgets the *Matter* and *Himselfe*, when he so deeply chargeth, for all this he granteth in this his *Reply*, onely with this *Limitation*, that *Subjects* are bound to submit to them herein when they judge according to the *Word.* This *Limitation* takes not away the *observation*, for it is alway implyed in *subjection* to all *Civill Rulers, Fathers, Husbands, Masters*, that it be according to the *Word.*

Peace. Yea but sayth he, it is a Notorious *Calumnie* so to represent Mr *Cottons* dealing with Princes, as if he made his owne *Judgement* and *practice* the *Rule* of the proceeding of *Princes.*

Truth. Let it be laid in the *Ballance*, and seene where the *Calumnie* or *slander* lies: *Princes* or *Civill Rulers*, saith Mr *Cotton*, "are *Fathers* to *feed* and *correct*, and their *Judgement* ought "therein to be obeyed according to the *Word.* Now some *Princes* and *Rulers* declare themselves against Mr *Cottons Tenent* of *persecution* for *conscience.* Mr *Cotton* will answer; The *profession* and *practice* of *Princes* is no *rule* to *Conscience.* I reply, and ask, who shall judge of *Princes profession* and *practice*, when they thus *feed* and *judge* in *spirituall* matters? whether their *profession* and *practice* be according to the *Word* or no? Mr *Cotton* (when *Princes* are alleadged against his *judgement* and *conscience*) pleads, that *Princes profession* and *practice* is no rule: Let all men judge whether his *judgement* and *conscience* be not made the *Rule* to the *consciences* and *practices* of *Princes*, whom yet he makes the nurcing Fathers.

Nurcing Fathers dealt withall as children.

Peace. When it was further demanded, whether Mr *Cotton* and others of his minde could submit in *spirituall* cases to any *Magistrates* in the *world*, but onely to those just of his *owne Conscience?*

science? He answers, they will submit to any in *Active* or *Passive* obedience.

Truth. But how can Mr *Cotton* suppose *Active obedience* in *spirituall* things to such *Magistrates*, who are *Pagans*, *Turkish*, *Antichristian*, and unable to judge, and bound (by his *Doctrine*) to suspend their Dealings upon *matter* of *Religion*, untill they be better informed? What *Active obedience* can I be supposed to give to him that hath no *Activitie* nor *Abilitie* to command and rule me? And must it not evidently follow, that *Active obedience* in these cases (according to his *Judgement*) must onely be yeelded to such *Magistrates* as are able to judge the true *Religion* and way of *Worship*; That is, the *Religion* and *Worship* which he takes to be of *God*.

Active obedience cannot be given but to a competent Judge.

Peace. Whereas it was said, will it not follow that all other *Consciences* in the *world*, besides their owne must be persecuted by such their *Magistrates* (were power in their hand)? Mr *Cotton* replyes, no; except all Mens *consciences* in the *world* did erre *fundamentally* against the *Principles* of *Christian Religion*, or *fundamentally* against *Church-Order*, and *Civill Order*, and that in a *tumultuous* and *factious* manner; for in these cases onely (sayth he) we allow *Magistrates* to punish in matters of *Religion*.

Truth. I have and must observe the Evill of that *Distinction* between *Christian Religion* and *Christian Order*, as not finding any such in the *Testament* of the Sonne of *God*, but finding *Church-Order* a *principall* part of the *Christian Religion*, as well as *Repentance* and *Faith*, Heb. 6.

But (2.) grant once Mr *Cottons Religion* and way of *Worship* to be the onely true *Religion* and way of *Gods Worship*, and all other *Religions* and wayes of *Worship* false, how can that *Errour* be otherwise then *fundamentall*? And if other mens *Consciences* attend not to Mr *Cottons convictions*, but obstinately maintaine their blasphemous *Religions*, how can the *Magistrates* of his *conscience* be dispenced with and absolved from persecuting such *obstinate Consciences* throughout the whole *World* beside?

Persecutors, if it were in their power, would, and are bound to persecute all Consciences and Religions in the World.

Peace. When it was further demanded, if this were not to make Magistrates *Staires* and *Stirrops* for *themselves* (the Clergie) to mount up in the seats and sadles of their great and setled *Maintenance*? Mr *Cotton* replyes, this is rather to make them

them *Swords* and *Staves* to punish them (if need be) for *Hereticall Delinquencie*: 2. Their *Magistrates* themselves fall short of great and setled *Maintenance*: And lastly, Himselfe liveth upon no *great* and *setled Maintenance*.

Truth. It is true Mr *Cotton* allowes the same *Power* to *Magistrates* to punish all *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, one as well as another: But what if it should fall out that his *Magistrates* should declare themselves for the *Pope*, or for the *Prelates*, or for the *Presbyters*, yea, or for some other way then is professed: and left it free for each mans *conscience* to *worship* as he believed, and to pay or not pay toward this or that *Worship* or *Ministrie*, according to his owne *perswasion* more or lesse, *any thing* or *nothing*, will not Mr *Cotton* then plead that such *Magistrates* themselves (Apostatizing from the *Truth* of *God*, and turning *Enemies* (as the *Pope* clamours) to the holy *Church*) I say, that such ought not onely to be accursed with the lesser and greater Censures of *Suspention* and *Excommunication*, but also punished with *Imprisonment*, *Banishment*, and *Death*: Or if they finde the mercy of *Life* and *Favour* of an *Office* (by some over-ruling *Providence*) will not Mr *Cotton* then pleade that such *Magistrates* ought to suspend their Power to hould their hands, and not to medle untill they be better informed, &c. Into such poore withered *Strawes* and *Reedes* will the *Allowance* of *Swords* and *Staves*, Mr *Cotton* here speakes of come to? Concerning the seats and sadles of great and setled *maintenance* of *Magistrates*, the Discusser spake not, but heartily wisheth their *Maintenance* as *great* and *setled*, as he knowes their *Labours* and *Travells* and *Dangers* be: He spake onely of *Ministers* great and setled *maintenance*.

All persecutors hould the Popes trayterous Doctrine of deposing hæreticall Princes.

Peace. O *Truth*, this is the *Apple* of the *Eye*, the true cause of so much *combustion* all the *World over*, especially *Popish* and *Protestants*.

Truth. Indeed this was the cause (as *Erasmus* told the *Duke* of *Saxonie*, that *Luther* was so stormed at) because he medled with the *Popes Crowne* and the *Monkes Bellies*. To obtaine these warme and soft and rich *seats* and *sadles* (who ever stand or goe on foote, or creepe, or beg, or Starve) the *Prelates* practices all Ages know. Yea and other *practices* of some of late, who (with the Evill *Steward* providing wisely) first made sure of an

The Popish and Protestant Clergie set the Popish and Protestant World on fire for their Maintenance.

an Ordinace of *Parliament* for *Tithes* and *Maintenance*, before any *Ordinance* for *God* Himselfe.

Peace. This is that indeed which the *Politick State* of *Holland* well foresaw, when they were lamentably whipt by the King of *Spaines* (and *Gods*) Scourge, *Duke D'alva*, into a Toleration of other mens *Consciences* : The *Politick States-men*, I say, saw a necessitie of stopping their *Dominies* Mouths with sure and setled *Maintenance* out of the *States* purse. Hence it is the *Dutch Ministers zeale* is not so hot against the *Toleration* of *Heretick*s in the *Civill State*, as the *English* hath been.

The Dutch *device to winne their Clergie to Tolleration of other Religious.*

Truth. To this purpose (sweet *Peace*) how fitly did that learned *Prideaux* once tell his Sons the *Oxford Doctors*, at one of their Superstitious *Creations*, that since they could not *dig*, and were ashamed to *beg*, they had great need (therefore) of setled *Maintenance*, This was but the Evil *Stewards* device, and (I adde) little better then stealing.

All that professe to be Christs Ministers, must Dig, or Beg, or Steale.

Peace. Yea but sayth Mr *Cotton*, I live not so, &c.

Truth. One *Swallow* makes not a *Summer* : what others have done and doe, and what *practices* have been and are for a forced setled maintenance (as firme and *setled* as ever was the *Parish maintenance* of *Old England*) hath been, to the shame of *Christianitie*, too apparant : For Mr *Cotton* himselfe, as I envie not the *fatnes* of his *morsells*, nor the *sweetnes* of his *Cups*, but wish him as large a *purse*, as I beleeve he hath an *Heart*, and a desire to doe good with it : Yet it hath been said, that his case is no *Præsident*, because what he looseth in the *Shire*, he gets in the *Hundreth*, and sits in as soft and rich a *sadle* as any throughout the whole *Countrey*, through the *greatnes* and *Richnes* of the *Marchandize* of the *Towne* of *Boston*, above other parts of the Land. The truth is, there is no Tryall of the good or Evill Servant in this case, untill it comes to *Digging* or *Begging*, or the third way, viz: of *couzening* of the great *Lord & Master Christ Jesus*; by running to *carnall meanes* and *carnall weapons*, to force mens *purses* for a rich and setled *Maintenance*.

Chap. 57. (*replying to* Chap. 60.) *Examined.*

Peace. Concerning *Princes* Mr *Cotton* addeth, that *Princes* out of *State policie*, doe sometimes tollerate what suits

ſuits not with *Chriſtianitie* (as *David* did *Joab*) againſt their wills.

Unto this it was anſwered, that this agrees not with his former generall *Propoſition*, to wit, that it was evill to Tollerate *ſeducing Teachers*, and *ſcandalous livers*; Mr *Cotton* replyes; Yes, for *Moſes* laid downe in generall, Who ſo ſheddeth mans *blood*, by man ſhall his *blood* be ſhed; yet *Joab* was tollerated to live, &c.

Truth. If *Moſes* had ſaid; It is not lawfull to tollerate a *Murtherer*; and yet afterward had tollerated a *Murtherer*, his later *practice* would not have ſeemed harmonious to his former ſpeech, but *Moſes* did not ſo, and therefore I conceive is not rightly alledged.

Peace. Whereas it was further alledged, that that *State policie*, and *State neceſſitie*, which permitted the *conſciences* of *Men*, will be found to agree moſt punctually with the *Rules* of the beſt *politician* that ever the world ſaw (the Lord *Jeſus* himſelfe) who commanded the permitting of the Tares.

Mr *Cotton* replyes, that he is not againſt the permitting of ſome *Antichriſtians*, or falſe *Chriſtians*, unleſſe they maintaine *fundamentall* Hereſie againſt the *Foundation* of *Religion*, and that *obſtinately* after *conviction*, and withall *ſeduce* others: But for ſuch *Hereticks* and *ſeducing Teachers*, they are none of thoſe *Tares*, of which *Chriſt* ſayth, Let them alone.

Beſides, ſayth he, If by *Tares* are meant groſſe *offenders*: then the *ſpeech* of *Chriſt*, *Let them alone*, is not a *word* of *command*, but a word of *permiſſion* and *prædiction*; like that *Luc.* 22. 36. He that hath no *Sword*, let him ſell his *Garment* and buy a *Sword*.

All Antichriſtians are fundamentally oppoſite to Chriſt Jeſus.

Truth. I anſwer, that there ſhould be *Antichriſtians*, or falſe *Chriſtians*, which maintaine not *fundamentall* Hereſie againſt *Foundation* of *Religion*, I thinke is new to the *New Teſtament* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, and to the *Tryalls* the holy *Spirit* propoſeth by *John* in his *Epiſtles*, diſcovering ſuch to be the *Hereticks* and *Apoſtates*, as deny the *Lord Jeſus* (as all *Antichriſtians* or falſe *Chriſtians* doe more or leſſe) to be come in the Fleſh the true *Meſſiah*, and anointed *King*, *Prieſt*, and *Teacher* to his *Church*.

Peace. If Mr *Cotton* will make good his word, to wit, that he will permit ſome *Antichriſtians* or falſe *Chriſtians*, methinks, the

the whole *Tryall* of this *matter* might well turne upon this *Hinge*, so that the *true* or *false Christian* be tryed by the *Rules* of the *New Testament*.

Truth. If so, he must undeniably subscribe to this great and *Christian policie* of *permission* or *Tolleration*: As for the *Exceptions* "following [Unlesse they maintaine Fundamentall Heresie, "and unlesse they sin actually] These pull backe againe with the Left hand what merciful *Freedome* he had given before with the Right.

3. But lastly, by this *Interpretation* of, Let them alone, by way of *permission* and *prædiction*, it appeares that Mr *Cottons* Thoughts are not without *checks* and *doubtings* what these *Tares* might be: For (sayth he) [if by *Tares* are meant grosse *offendours*] whereas before he spent much precious time to prove the *Tares* to be a kinde of *closer Hypocrite*. *Touching the Tares.*

Moreover, all permission is of *Evill*, for some *Good*, so he, the permission of *Tares* for the *Wheate* sake: In which respect (as I conceive) the good *Wheate* is not so tendred, nor the *Word* of *Christ* so attended to by such, as presume (in pretence for the good wheate sake) to pluck up those *Tares*, unto whom *Christ Jesus* for the good *Wheate* sake, hath for a Time granted a *permission*.

Exam: of Chap. 58. *replying to* Chap. 61.

Peace. WHereas the Discusser professedly waved any *Argument* from the *number* of *Princes* witnessing in *profession* or *practice* against *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, Mr *Cotton* replyes, that this is a yeelding of the *Invaliditie* of the Argument: But 2. that he urgeth not the *number*, but the greater *pietie* and *presence* of *God* with those *Princes* who have professed and practiced against *Tolleration*.

Truth. As I would not use an Argument from the number of *Princes* about an heavenly matter (as knowing that the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the Earth commonly minde their owne *Crownes*, *Honours*, and *Dominions*, more then *Gods*; and such *Princes* as are called *Christian*, use *Gods* Name, *Crowne*, and *Ordi-* *Policie store, but Pietie rare in Princes.*

 nances,

nances, as *Jeroboam* used *Gods Name*, and *Jezabell* used *Fasting* and *prayer*, for the advancement of their owne *Crownes*, and persecuting of the *Innocent* and *Righteous*) So neither would I rest in the *Qualitie*, *Greatnes* or *Goodnes* of any. That which I attend in this Argument is the *Ground* and *Reasons* of their *Speeches*; which may also have this *Consideration* to boote, that they are the *Speeches* of such who sit at the helme of great *States*, and were not ignorant of the *Affaires* of *States*, and what might conduce to the *peace* or *disturbance*, to the *wealth* or *woe* of a *Common-weale*. To their *Ground* and *Reasons* therefore I attend in the next Chapter.

Exam: of Chap. 59. *replying to* Chap. 62.

Peace. IN this Chap. the *Consideration* of the *Speeches* themselves, Mr *Cotton* sayth, he passed by, because, either the *Reasons* wanted waight, or did not impugne the cause in hand, as

A Speech of King James *considered.*

First, That *Speech* of King *James*; *God never loved to plant his Church by Bloud:* It is farre from us (sayth Mr *Cotton*) to compell men to yeeld to the *Fellowship* of the *Church* by bloudie *Lawes* or *Penalties:* Nevertheless, this hindreth not but that his *Blood* may justly fall upon his owne head that shall goe about to *supplant* and *destroy* the *Church* of *Christ*.

Truth. How light or how impertinent soever these *Speeches* may seeme to Mr *Cotton*, yet to others (fearing *God* also) they are most *sollid* and *waighty*.

This Speech of King *James* seemes impertinent in this cause, because (sayth Mr *Cotton*) we compell no man by *bloudy Lawes* and *Penalties* to yeeld themselves to the Fellowship of the *Church*.

No Man to be forced from his owne worship, &c.

I answer, as *Saul* by persecuting of *David* in the Land of *Canaan*, and thrusting him forth of *Gods Heritage*, did as it were bid him goe serve other *Gods* in other *Countries:* So he that shall by bloudie *Lawes* and *Penalties* force any man from his owne *Conscience* and *Worship*, doth upon the point, say unto him, in a language of *bloud*, Come be of my *Religion*, &c.

2. *Peace.*

2. *Peace.* Why ſhould not *Men* as well be forced to the *Truth*, as forced from their *Errours* and *Erroneous practices?* Since (to keepe to the Similitude) it is the ſame *Power* that ſets a *plant*, and plucks up *weedes*, which is true (myſtically) in the *ſpiritualll worke* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, in his heavenly planting by his *Word* and *Spirit*.

3. *Truth.* I adde, if men be compelled to come to *Church* under ſuch a *penaltie*, for *Abſence* (as hath been practiced in *Old* and *New England*) How can Mr *Cotton* ſay, there is no forcing to the *Fellowſhip* of the *Church*; when (howſoever with the *Papiſts*) he makes ſo great difference, which *Chriſt* never made, between the *Lords Supper*, and the *Word* and *Prayer*, and ſay, that men may be forced to the hearing of the *Word*, but not to the *Supper*. Yet the *conſciences* of *thouſands* will teſtifie, that it is as truely grievous to them to be forced to the one as to the other, and that they had as lief be forced to the *meat* as to the *Broth*, to the more inward and retired *chambers* and *cloſets*, as into the *Hall* or *Parlor*, being but parts of the ſame houſe, &c.

Touching compelling to come to Church and to heare.

Peace. And I may adde (Deare *Truth*) that the bloudie *Impriſonments*, *Whippings* and *Baniſhments*, that have cryed, and will cry in *New England*, will not be ſtild untill the cry of *Repentance*, and the *bloud* of the *Lambe Chriſt Jeſus*, put that cry to *ſilence*. But to the ſecond Speech of King *James*, No marvell (ſayth Mr *Cotton*) that I paſt by that Speech, to wit, [that *Civill obedience* may be performed by the *Papiſts*,] for I found it not in the *Letter*; and beſide, how can Civill *obedience* be performed by *Papiſts*, when the *Biſhop of Rome* ſhall *Excommunicate* a *Proteſtant Prince*, diſſolve the *Subjects Oath*, &c.

A ſecond Speech of King James.

Truth. I anſwer; King *James* profeſſing concerning the *Oath* of *Allegiance* (which he tendred to the *Papiſts*, and which ſo many *Papiſts* tooke,) that he deſired onely to be ſecured for *Civill Obedience*, to my underſtanding did as much as ſay, that he beleeved that a *Papiſt* might yeeld *Civill obedience*, as they did in taking this *Oath*, as quiet and peaceable *Subjects*, ſome of them being employed in places of *Truſt*, both in his and in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes.

Papiſts *may yeeld Civill obedience.*

What though it be a *Popiſh Tenent*, that the *Pope* may ſo doe, and what though *Bellarmine*, and others, have maintained ſuch

The Parliament at Paris, *although Popish, yet condemned Bookes and Tenents against Civill obedience.*

bloudie *Tenents*, yet it is no *Generall Tenent* of all *Papists*, and it is well knowne that a famous *Popish Kingdome*, the whole *Kingdome of France* assembled *in Parliament* in the yeare (so calld) 1610. condemned to the *Fire* the booke of *Johannes Marianus* for mainteining that very *Tenent*. And two moneths after *Bellarmines* booke it selfe was condemned to the Fire also, by the *same Parliament* for the same detestable *Doctrine*, as the *Parliament* calld it, as tending to destroy the *higher Powers*, which *God* hath ordained, stirring up the *Subjects* against their *Princes*, absolving them from their *Obedience*, stirring them up to attempt against their Persons, and to disturbe the common *peace* and *quiet:* Therefore all Persons who ever under Paine of High Treason, were forbidden to *print, sell,* or *keepe* that booke, &c.

Peace. This *passage* being so late, and so famous in so neere *a Popish Countrie*, I wonder how Mr *Cotton* could chaine up all *Papists* in an *Impossibilitie* of yeelding *Civill obedience*, when a whole Popish Kingdome breakes and abhorres the *chaines* of such bloudy and unpeaceable *Doctrines* and *Practices*.

All England *Papists, and yet the Pope renounced.*

2. *Experience* hath proved it possible for Men to hould other *maine* and *fundamentall Doctrines* of that *Religion*, and yet renounce the *Authoritie* of the *Pope*, as all *England* did under King *Henry* 8. when the six bloudie *Articles* were maintained and practiced, and in them the *Substance* of that *Idolatrous Religion*, although the Power of the *Pope* of *Rome* was generally acknowledged no other, then of a forreigne *Bishop* in his owne *Diocesse*.

A twofold holding the Pope as Head.

3. But grant the *English Catholicks* maintaine the Supreame *Authoritie* of the *Pope*, even in *England*, it must be considered and declared how farre: If so farre, as to owne his Power of absolving from *obedience* (against which the aforesaid *Parliament* of *Paris* declared) the *wisdome* of the *State* knowes how to secure it selfe against such Persons. But if onely as *Head* of the *Church* in spirituall *matters*, & they give *Assurance* for *Civill obedience*, why should their *Consciences* more then others be oppressed?

Peace. Mr *Cotton*, (as all men and too justly in this *Controversie*) alledgeth the *Papists practices*, what ever *professions* otherwise have been: So long as they hould the *Pope*, they are sure

ure of a *Dispensation* to take any *Oath*, subscribe to any *Engagement*, and of *Absolution* for the *Acting* of any *Crime* of *Treason* or *Murther* against the chiefest *States-men*, and the *State* it selfe.

Truth. What is it that hath rendred the *Papists* so inraged and desperate in *England*, *Ireland*, &c? What is it that hath so *imbittered* and *exasperated* their minds, but the *Lawes* against their *Consciences* and *Worships?*

Peace. The two *Sisters Lawes* compared, *Maries* and *Elizabeths*, concerning mens *Consciences*, while *Maries* were certainly written with *bloud* against the *Protestants*, *Elizabeths* may seeme to be written with *milke* against the *Papists*.

The two Sisters Lawes concerning Conscience.

Truth. Deare Peace, *Chaines* of *Gold* and *Diamonds* are chaines, and may pinch and gall as sore and deepe, as those of *Brasse* and *Iron*, &c. All Lawes to force even the grossest *Conscience* (of the most besotted *Idolaters* in the world, *Jew* or *Turke*, *Papist* or *Pagan*) I say, all such *Lawes*, *restraining* from or *constraining* to *Worship*, and in matters meerly *Spirituall*, and of no *Civill* nature, such *Lawes*, such *Acts*, are *chaines*, are *yoakes*, not possibly to be fitted to the *Soules neck*, without *oppression*, and *exasperation*.

Peace. It is no wonder indeed that the Brains of those of the *Popish Faith* are so distempered and enraged by *yoakes* clapt on the neck of their *Consciences*, when *Solomon* the wisest observes it common: that Civill *oppression* (how much more *Soule-oppression*, the most *grievous* and *intollerable*) doth use to render the *Braines* of men (otherwayes most *sober* and *judicious*) *madde* and *desperate*.

2. *Truth.* I answer (secondly) grant the *Practices* of the *Papists* against the *Civill State*, fowle, dangerous, &c. yet why should there not be hope (according to the rules of *pietie* in *Scripture*, and *policie* in *Experience*) that the *coales* of *mercy* and *moderation* may melt the *Head* of an *Enemie*, as hard as any *stone* or *mettall*, and render *imbittered Enemies*, *loving Friends*, combined and resolved for their common *safetie* and *Liberties*.

Coales of moderation and kindnesse, may melt an Enemie, as David *melted* Saul, *&c.*

Thirdly, Against the feare of Evill *practices* the *Wisdome* of the *State* may securely provide, by just *cautions* and *provisoes*, as of *Subscribing* the *Civill Engagement*; of *yeelding* up their *Armes*, the *Instruments* of *mischiefe* and *disturbance*; of being

Cautions for preventing of disturbance by Papists, *&c.*

noted

noted (as the *Jewes* are in some parts) by some *distinction* of or on their *Garments*, or otherwise, according to the *Wisdome* of the *State*. And without such or the like sufficient *cautions* given, it is not *Civill Justice* to permit justly suspected *persons*, dangerous to the *civill peace*, to abide out of places of *Securitie* and safe *Restraint*.

Peace. If such a *course* were steered with the *Consciences* of that *Religion*, yet are there some *Objections* waighty concerning the Body of the *People*.

First, There will be alwayes danger of *tumults* and *uproares* between the *Papists* and the *Protestants*.

Sufficient Provisions are made in other Nations, against Distractions and Tumults from opposite Consciences and Worships.

1. *Truth.* Sweet *Peace*, thou mayst justly be tender of the quiet *repose* and secure *Tranquilitie* of all men, and with *All men* (if it be possible, as the *Scripture* speakes) as thou art an heavenly daughter of the *God* of *peace* and *love*. But yet thou knowest the *Wisdome* of the *English State* needs not be taught from abroad (where *Libertie* abroad is granted to the *Popish* or *Protestant Consciences*) of making safe and sufficient provision against all *Tumults*, and feare of *uproares*.

2. But secondly, it is too too fully and lamentably true, that the *Congregations* or *Churches* of the severall sorts of such as in whole or in part seperate from the *Parish worship* and *worshippers*, are farre more odious to, and doe more exasperate a thousand times, the *Parish Assemblies*, then the *Papists* or *Catholiques* themselves are or doe: So that if the *People* were let loose to take their choice of exercising *violence* and *furie*, either upon a *Popish* or a *Protestant Seperate Assembly*, it is cleare from the greater *corrivation* and *competition* (made by the *Protestants that seperate*,) to the true *Church*, true *Government*, true *Worship*, true *Ministrie*, true *Seales*, &c. the rage of the People would mount up incomparably fiercer against the one then the other. Hence it was the *Papists* ever found more favour with the last two *Kings* and their *Bishops*, then the *Puritants* (so called) did, and the seperate *Assemblies* were not so maligned by them as the *Nonconformists*, nor they so much as the very conforming *Puritants*. And therefore suitably it was belcht out from a fowle mouth *Rabshekeh*, a *Chaplaine* to one of the late *Bishops*; A *plague* (said he) on all Conforming *Puritants*, they doe us most mischiefe. Notwithstanding all this, and the bitter *Indigna-*

Neerer Competitions & bomebred oppositions most of all exasperate, &c.

dignation of *People* against these *Sectaries* (so called) and their *Assemblies*, yet the most holy *wisdome* of the *Father* of *Lights* hath taught the *Parliament* of *England* that wonderfull skill (in the midst of so many *Spirituall oppositions*) to preserve the *Civill peace* from the *dangers* and *occasions* of *civill Tumults* and *Distractions*.

The admired Prudence of the Parliament in preserving Civill Peace.

Peace. Admit the *civill peace* be kept inviolate, yet how satisfie we the *feares* and *jealousies* of many who cry out of danger of *Infection*, and that *Jezabels Doctrine* will leaven and seduce the Land, &c.

Truth. I will not here repeate what in other parts of this booke I have presented touching that Point of *Infection*. At present, I answer;

First, It is to me most improbable, that (except the *Body* of the *Nation* face about from *Protestanisme* to *Poperie*) (as in Queene *Maries* dayes) that the number of *Protestants* turning *Papists*, will be great in a *Protestant Nation*, especially if such *securitie* be taken, as was above-mentioned, and otherwise, as the *State* shall order, &c. together with such publick *notes* and *markes* (before mentioned) on the People of that *Way*, because of their former *practices*.

Increase of Papists unlikely in England.

Secondly, Yea, why should not rather the glorious *Beames* of the *Sunne* of *Righteousnesse* in the free *Conferrings*, *Disputings* and *Preachings* of the *Gospel* of *Truth*, be more hopefully like to expell those *Mists* and *Fogs* out of the *minds* of *Men*, and that *Papists*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Pagans*, be brought home, not onely into the *common roade* and *way* of *Protestanisme*, but to the grace of true *Repentance* and *Life* in *Christ*. I say, why not this more likely, by farre, then that the *mists* and *fogs* of *Poperie* should over-cloud and conquer that most *glorious Light*.

Peace. 'Tis true, the holy Historie tells us of one *Sampson* laying heapes upon heapes of the proudest *Philistims*; of one *David*, and of his *Worthies*, encountring with and slaying their stoutest *Gyants* and *Champions*, yet it is feared such is the depraved *nature* of all *mankinde* (and not of the *English* onely) that like a *corrupted* full *Body*, it sooner sucks in a *poysoned breath* of *Infection*, then the *purest Ayre* of *Truth*, &c.

Truth. Grant this, I answer therefore (thirdly) If any of many conscientiously turne *Papists* : I alledge the *Experience* of

Mr John Robinson (deceased) his Testimonie in a Manus: from Holland.

of a holy, wise, and learned man, experienced in our owne and other *States affaires*, who affirmes that he knew but few *Papists* increase, where much *Libertie* to *Papists* was granted, yea fewer then where they were restrained: Yet further, that in his *Conscience* and *Judgement* he believed and observed that such Persons as *conscientiously* turned *Papists*, (as believing *Poperie* the truer way to *Heaven* and *Salvation*) I say, such Persons were ordinarily more conscionable, loving, and peaceable in their dealings, and neerer to Heaven then thousands that follow a bare common *trade* and *roade* and *name* of *Protestant Religion*, and yet live without all *Life* of *Conscience* and *Devotion* to *God*, and consequently with as little *love* and *faithfulnesse* unto *Men*.

A third Speech of King James considered.

Peace. But now to proceed; a third Speech of King *James* was, [*Persecution* is the note of a *false Church*, the wicked are *Besiegers*, the *Faithfull* are besieged, upon *Revel.* 20.] Mr *Cotton* here grants, that it is indeed a Note of a false *Church*, but not a certaine One; for, sayth he, which of all the *Prophets* did not the *Church* of the *Old Testament* persecute?

Persecution ordinarily the marke of a False Church.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* granting *persecution* to be a degree of *Falsehood* and *Apostacie*, as he doth in his following words, he must also grant, that where such a *Doctrine* and *practice* prevailes, and the *Church* growes obstinate after all the *Lords* meanes used to reclaime, such a *Church* will proceede to further degrees, untill the whole be leavened with *Falshood* and *Apostacie*, and the *Lord* divorceth her, and casts her out of his *Heart* and *Sight*; as he dealt with *Israel* and *Judah*: And it will be found no false, but a dutifull part of a faithfull childe to abhorre the *whoredomes* of such an one, though his own *Mother*, who for her *obstinacie* in *whoredomes* is justly put away by his heavenly *Father*, but of that (the *Lord* assisting) more in its place.

Peace. Further, Whereas it was said, that Mr *Cotton* had passed by King *Stephen* of *Poland* his *Speech*, to wit, the true *Difference* between the *Civill* and *Spirituall Government*, Mr *Cotton* answers, that it is true, that the *Magistrate* cannot command their *Soules*, nor binde their *Consciences*, nor punish their *Spirits*: All that he can doe is to punish the *Bodies* of Men for destroying or disturbing *Religion*.

Stephen *King* of Poland *his Speech.*

Truth.

Truth. It is true, the *Lord* alone reacheth the *Soules* or *Spirits* of Men, but he doth it two wayes.

First, Immediately ſtirring up the *Spirits* of the *Prophets*, by *Viſions*, *Dreames*, &c.

Secondly, By inſtituted *Meanes* and *Ordinances* : of which is the Queſtion : Now *Stephen* King of *Poland* profeſſed that he was *King* of *bodies*, and not of *Conſciences* : It being moſt true, that the *Lord Jeſus* hath appointed *ſpirituall Rulers* and *Governours*, to binde and looſe *Soules* and *Conſciences*, to wound and kill, Comfort and ſave alive the *Spirits* and *Conſciences* of Men. This power *Chriſt Jeſus* committed to his true *Meſſengers*; but oh, how many are there that pretend to this *Apoſtleſhip* or *Miniſtrie*, who yet have ſold away this *ſpirituall* Power to the *Earthly* or *worldly powers*, upon an (implyed ſecret) *Condition* or *Proviſo*, to receive a broken *Reed* an *Arme* of *Fleſh*, (in ſtead of the *Everlaſting Armes* of *Mercy*,) to protect them.

The Spirituall Power of Chriſt Jeſus betruſted not with Civill but ſpirituall Miniſters.

Peace. With your leave (Deare *Truth*) let me adde a ſecond: If the *Magiſtrate* (as Mr *Cotton* ſayth) puniſh the *body* for a *ſpirituall* offence, why doth he not puniſh by a *ſpirituall* power as a *ſpirituall Officer*, with a *ſpirituall Cenſure* and *puniſhment* ?

Truth. Mr *Cotton* will tell us that the *bodies* of the *Iſraelites* were puniſhed for *ſpirituall offences* : And we may againe truely affirme, that the very cutting off by the materiall *Sword* out of the *typicall* Land of *Canaan*, was in the type, a *ſpirituall puniſhment*.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* is not ignorant of this, and hath often taught of theſe *Types* from *Paſſages* on *Geneſis* and other bookes of *Moſes*, &c.

Truth. The *Father* of *Lights* graciouſly be pleaſed to ſet home the *light* he hath vouchſafed him, & fix and imprint the beames thereof in his *heart* and *affections* alſo.

Peace. This Argument (of puniſhing the *body* for the *ſoules* good) I remember was feelingly reſented by an honourable *Gentleman* in the *Parliament* againſt the *Biſhops*, urging how contrary unto *Chriſt Jeſus* thoſe *Prelates* were; for *Chriſt Jeſus* did make way for his working upon Mens *ſoules*, by ſhewing kindneſſe to their *bodies*, &c. but *Prelates* contrarily, &c.

An Argument uſed in Parliament againſt the Perſecuting Biſhops.

Truth. All the *Angells* of *God* will one day witneſſe, that *Chriſt Jeſus* was never *Captain* to *Pope*, nor *Prelate*, *Presbyter*, no

nor *Independent*, *Emperour* nor *King*, *Parliament*, nor *Generall Court*, who punish and afflict, persecute and torture the *bodies* of *Men* under pretence of a *spirituall* and *religious* medicine.

Peace. Yea, but sayth Mr *Cotton*, *Religion* is disturbed and destroyed, what shall be done?

Of disturbance of Religion.

Truth. *Religon* is disturbed and destroyed two wayes.

First, When the *Professors* or *Assemblies* thereof are persecuted, that is hunted and driven up and downe out of the *world:* Against such *Destroyers* or *Disturbers* (being Tyrants and Oppressours,) the *Civill Sword* ought to be drawen.

The Bishops as Tyrants justly suppressed, and the Parliament therein prospered from Heaven.

Peace. The drawing of the Sword of *Justice* against such *Tyrants*, I believe hath prevailed in *Heaven*, for the *Parliaments successes* and *prosperitie:* The turning from the *violence* that was in the hands of those Men of *Bloud* the *Bishops*, (as in the Men of *Ninivies* case) hath laid the long and violent storme of *Fire* and *Bloud*, &c.

Truth. Yea let the most renowned *Parliament* of *England*, and all *England* know, that when they cease to listen to *Daniells counsell* to *Belshazzar*, to wit, to shew *Mercy* to the *poore*, (even the poorest and most afflicted in the *World*) the *Consciences* of Men, then is their *Parliamentarie Glory* and *Tranquillitie* ecclipsed: Till then I confidently believe, their *Government* (which hath now so many yeares with so many *Wonders* continued) shall not be numbred, nor another fatall change surprize them.

Daniells *Counsel to* Bel-shazzar *preserveth Parliaments & Kingdomes.*

But now (2) the *Disturbance* or *Destruction* of *Religion* is *spirituall*, by false *Teachers*, false *Prophets*, by spirituall *Rebells* and *Traytors* against the *Worship* and *Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus:* Against which *Disturbers* or *Destroyers*, if *Christ Jesus* have not provided sufficient *spirituall Defence*, let *Moses* (his ancient Type,) be said to exceede him in *Faithfulnesse*, *David* in holy *zeale* and *affection* to the house of *God*, and *Solomon* in *wisdome* and heavenly *prudence*, in *ordering* the *Affaires* of the holy *Worship* of *God.*

Peace. But further, whereas it was said, that to confound these (to wit, a *Civill* and *Spirituall Government*) was *Babell* and *Jewish:* Mr *Cotton* replyes, *That* is *Babell* to tollerate and advance *Idolatrie.* 2. (Sayth he) though *Christ* hath abolished a *Nationall Church-State*, which *Moses* set up in the Land of *Canaan*,

naan, yet *Christ* never abolished a *Nationall Civill State*, nor the *Judiciall Lawes* of *Moses*, which were of *Morall Equitie*, and therefore (sayth he) If the true *Christs* bloud goe for the planting of the *Church*, let the false *Christs* goe for supplanting it.

Truth. I answer; *Babell* was infamous for *Pride*, for *Confusion* or *Disorder*, for *Idolatrie*, for *Tyrannie*: Now let all persecuting *Cities* and *Kingdomes* be examined and see if they have been cleare from any of these: and especially from *Babells confusion* and *disorder*, from monstrous mingling of *Spirituall* and *Civill*, the *Devills Worship* with *Gods vessells*: It was no *Confusion* in the *Nationall Church* of *Israel* for the Power of that *Nation*, in the hands of *Kings* and Civill *Rulers*, to purge that *Nationall Church* by *Nationall* force of *weapons* and *Death*: But since Mr *Cotton* acknowledgeth that *Christ* hath abolished that *Nationall Church*, and established *Congregationall Churches*, (in some of which possibly may be no *Civill Magistrate* fearing *God*, for few *wise* or *noble* are called, and consequently few *godly* or *Christian Magistrates* professing *Christ Jesus*) What is this but *Babell* or a *Babylonish* mixture of the *Old* and *New Testament*, *Nationall* and *Congregationall Churches power* and *practices* together?

Touching the Nationall Church of Israell.

Peace. 2. What if *Christ Jesus* have not abolished a *Nationall Church State*, it is sufficient that he hath abolished a *Nationall Church*. And if so, then in *Church matters* those *Nationall Judicialls*, and the use of those *Nationall Weapons* and *Punishments*, in attending upon such a *Nationall Church*: Yea what colour of *Morall Equitie* is there that all the *Nations* of the *World* (most of which never heard of *Christ*) should be ruled by such *Lawes* and *Punishments* as were *peculiarly* and *miraculously* given and appointed to one selected and culd out *Nation*, conceived, borne, and brought up (as I may so speake) from first to last, by extraordinarie, and *miraculous dispensation*?

Israell a miraculous Nation.

Peace. There may be (sayth Mr *Cotton*) *difference* between the *Nations* professing *Christianitie*, and other *Nations*.

Truth. There is indeed great *Differerence*: There are two sorts of *Nations* or *Peoples* of the *World*, which shall be *Fewell* for the devouring flames of the Lord *Jesus*, 2 Thess. 1. First, such as know not *Christ Jesus*, of which sort the greatest part of the *Nations* of the *World* (beyond all colour of comparison) consist. 2. Such as have heard a sound, and make some profes-

Two sorts of the Nations of the World.

ſion of the Name of *Chriſt Jeſus*, and yet obey him not as *Lord* and *King*, &c.

Now it is true at the *Tribunall* of this dreadfull *Judge*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Sodome* and *Gomorra*, ſhall finde an eaſier doome, then ſhall *Bethſaida*, *Chorazin*, *Capernaum*, *Jeruſalem*, &c. And Mr *Cotton* need not feare the eſcaping of a falſe *Chriſt*, when all *Nations* profeſſing *Chriſtianitie* (*Papiſt* or *Proteſtant*) (if yet found diſobedient to the true *Chriſt*) ſhall paſſe under a more fierie Sentence then all *Mahumetane* and *Pagan* Countries.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* will not ſtick to ſubſcribe to this; But, the falſe *Chriſts* bloud (ſayth he) ought *now*, to be ſpilt.

Touching the true and falſe Chriſts.

Truth. Since there are ſo many falſe *Chriſts* (as the true *Chriſt* Propheſied) Mr *Cotton* muſt unavoydably name and detect and convict thoſe falſe *Chriſts*, *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant*, &c. upon whom he paſſeth ſuch a preſent Sentence. He muſt alſo direct the way how the true *Chriſt* may ſhed the bloud of the falſe *Chriſts*. When Mr *Cotton* hath done this faithfully and impartially (according to his *Conſcience* and preſent *Judgement*) what Reader will not at firſt view ſee riſing up from ſuch Premiſes theſe foure *Concluſions?*

Firſt, Amongſt ſo many *Chriſts* extant (that is viſible *Chriſts Head* and *Body*) in the *Chriſtian Antichriſtian* World, there can but One *Chriſt* be found to be true.

Secondly, That *Chriſt* which Mr *Cotton* profeſſeth (according to his *Conſcience*) will be *He*.

Thirdly, All ſuch *Chriſts* as are extant, beſide Mr *Cottons*, *Head* and *Body*, ought impartially to be put to *Death*, as *falſe*, *counterfeit*, *blaſphemous*, &c.

Fourthly, Such as embrace his *Chriſt*, that is, be of his *Church* and *Conſcience*, are bound (if they once get *power* in their hands) to purſue with *fire* and *ſword*, and to ſhed the bloud of all the falſe *Chriſts*, that is, the ſeverall ſorts of *falſe* or *Antichriſtian Worſhippers*.

Peace. Oh how *wiſe* and *Righteous* is the *Lord*, in letting looſe the *Wolfe* and *Lyon* (*perſecutors* and *Hunters*) upon his *Sheepe* and *People*, that by their owne painfull ſence of ſuch bloudie *violence* and *crueltie*, he may graciouſly purge out the *Malignant venemous Humours* of ſuch fowle *Antichriſtian* and bloudie *Doctrines?* But to the next, the King of *Bohemia* his ſaying.

ing. Whereas it was said that in this *Kings Speech* Mr *Cotton* had passed by that *Foundation* in *Grace* and *Nature*, to wit, that *Conscience* ought not to be violated or forced, and that such *forcing* is no other then a *Spirituall Rape*. *King of Bohemia his Speech.*

Mr *Cotton* replyes, It was not passed by, but prevented in "stating the *Question*, where it was said, It is not lawfull to "Censure any, no not for *Errour* in *Fundamentall* Points of "*Doctrine* or *Worship*, till the *Conscience* of the *offendour* be first "convinced (out of the *Word* of *God*) of the dangerous Er-"rour of his way, and then if he will persist, it is not out of "*Conscience*, but against his *Conscience*, as the Apostle sayth, "(*Tit.* 3. 11.) and so he is not persecuted for cause of Con-"science, but for sinning against his Conscience.

1. *Truth.* I answer, the forcing of a *Woman*, that is, the violent Acting of *uncleannesse* upon her *bodie* against her will, we count a Rape: By Proportion that is a *Spirituall* or *Soule-rape*, which is a forcing of the *Conscience* of any Person, to Acts of *Worship*, which the Scripture entitles by the name of the Marriage bed, *Cant.* 1. *Spirituall Rapes.*

This forcing of *Conscience* was in an high measure the branded sinne of that great typicall *Machiavel Jeroboam*, who made *Israel* to *Worship* before the *Golden Calves*: And this is the abominable *practice* of the Second Beast, who compells all to take the Marke of the first *Beast*, and this is the sinne of (the mysticall *Ammon*) the Princes of *Europe*, and of the *Antichristian* World, those mysticall effeminate *Ahabs*, who give their power to the *Beast*, themselves (together with that Man of *Sinne* and *Filthinesse* (the *Pope*) Practicing most odious spirituall *uncleannesse* upon the *Consciences* of the *Nations* of the *Earth*.

2. *Peace.* Deare *Truth*, who knowes not whose voyce and Song this is, but that, of all the bloudie *Bonners*, *Gardiners*, and most devouring *persecutours* that ever have or shall legally in way and pretence of *Justice*, *persecute*. [You pretend *Conscience* that you dare not come to *Church* because of *Conscience*, that so to *sweare*, *submit*, *subscribe*, or *conforme*, is against your *Conscience*, that you are persecuted for your *Conscience*, and forced against your *Conscience*. *All persecutours contumeliously object against Conscience.*

Truth. Indeed, what is this before the flaming eyes of *Christ*, but as (*Amnon*-like in the type) some lustfull *Ravisher* deales

with

Amnon *his ravishing of* Tamar, *a Type.*

with a beautifull *Woman*, first using all subtle *Arguments* and gentle *perswasions*, to allure unto their spirituall *Lust* and *Filthinesse*, and where the *Conscience* freely cannot yeeld to such *Lust* and *Folly* (as *Tamar* said to *Amnon*) then a forcing it by *Penalties*, *Penall Lawes* and *Statuies?* Yea, what is this but more filthy and abominable then is commonly practiced against *ravished Women*, to wit, a perswading a *Conscience* that it is *obstinate*, obstinate against its knowledge, that a man might lawfully have yeelded, that he is convinced of the *lawfulnesse* of the *Act*, and therefore may justly be punished for repelling such *Arguments*, and resisting such *perswasions* against the *Conviction* of his owne *Conscience.*

A Query, who shall judge, whether Conscience be convict.

3. *Peace.* It is a common *Question*, made by most, who shall be Judge of this *Convicted Conscience*; shall the lustfull *Ravisher* (the *Persecutor*) be Judge? Will the burning Rage of his *Spirituall Filthinesse* and *Antichristian Beastialitie* cause no shaking of the scales of *Justice?* And will Mr *Cotton* indeed (except he suspend them) have all the *Civill Magistrates*, or *Civill States*, or *Generall Assemblies*, or *Courts* of *People* in the *World* (according to their *severall Constitutions*) sit *Judges* o're *Conscience*, to wit, when the poore *ravished Consciences* of Men are *convinced*,

Truth. What is this, but (in truth) to submit the *Soules* and *Consciences* of the *Saints* (yea the *Conscience* of the *Lord Jesus* in them,) unto the *World* that lyes in wickednesse (and to the *Devill* in it) out of which *God* hath chosen; but few, that are *wise*, or that are *Great*, *Rich*, or *Noble*.

Church-Papists and Protestants also ravished.

4. And to end this Passage, what is this, but to destroy that distinction of a true and false *Conscience*, which the holy *Spirit* expressely maketh, telling (2 *Thessal.* 2.) of *Antichristians* that make *Conscience* of *Lyes*, believing them *conscientiously* for *Truths*. What is it now to force a *Papist* to *Church*, but a *Rape*, a *Soule-Rape?* he comes to *Church*, that is, comes to that *Worship*, which his *Conscience* tells him is false, and this to save his *Estate*, *Credit*, &c. What is this in a *Papist*, but a yeelding unwillingly to be *forced* and *ravished?* Take an instance of holy *Cranmer*, and many other faithfull *Witnesses* of the *truth* of *Jesus*, who being *forced* or *ravished* by *terrour* of Death, *subscribed*, *abjured*, went to *Masse*, but yet against their *Wills* and *Consciences*. In both these *Instances* of *Papist* and *Protestant*, Mr *Cotton* must confesse

fesse a *Soule-Ravishment*; for, the *Conscience* of a *Papist* is not *convinced* that it is his *Dutie* to worship *God* by the *English common Prayer-Booke*, or *Directorie*, &c. And the *Consciences* of many are not convinced but that it is their sinne to come at either the *Papists* or common *Protestants Worship*. So both *Papist* and *Protestant* are forced and ravished by *force* of *Armes*, (as a Woman by a Lustfull *Ravisher*) against their *Soules* and *Consciences*.

Peace. Againe, in that *King* of *Bohemia's Speech* Mr *Cotton* passed by that most true and lamentable *experience* of all *Ages*, to wit, that *persecution*, for cause of *Conscience*, hath ever proved pernicious, and hath been the cause of great *Alterations* and *changes* in *States* and *Kingdomes*. To this Mr *Cotton* replyes, No *experience* in any *Age* did ever prove it *pernicious* to punish *Seducing Apostates*, after due *Conviction* of the *Errour* of their way: And he asks, wherein did the burning of *Servetus* prove *pernicious* to *Geneva*, or the just Execution of many *Popish Priests* to Queene *Elizabeth*, or the *English State?*

Truth. I answer, though no *Historie* did expresse what horrible and pernicious *mischiefes* the persecuting of the *Arians* and others caused in the *World*: yet is it lamentably sufficient to the Point, that all *Ages* testifie (and I had almost said all *Nations*) how pernicious this Doctrine hath been in raising the devouring flames of *Fire* and *Sword*, about *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, *Idolaters*, *Blasphemers*, &c. *Wars for Religion.*

Peace. Later Times have rendred the observation of that *King* most lamentably true, in the many great *Desolations*, in *Germany*, *Poland*, *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, *Bohemia*, *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Low Countries* (not to speake of the mighty warres between those dreafull *Monarchies* of the *Turkes* and *Persians*, and other *Nations*) to the *Flames* whereof although other causes have intermingled, the *Matters* of *Heresie*, *Blasphemie*, *Idolatrie*, &c. have been the chiefest sparkes and *Bellowes*.

Truth. It is true (as Mr *Cotton* sayth,) it hath pleased the *God* of *Heaven* to spare some particular places, and to preserve wonderfully for his Name and Mercy sake, *Geneva*, *England*, &c. &c. When they have been *besieged* and *invaded*: Yet Mr *Cotton* confesseth, that Queene *Elizabeth* by that course had like to have fired the *Christian World* in *Combustion*, which though it

pleased

The bloudie Tenent Guiltie of all the bloud of Papists *and* Protestants *lately spilt.*

pleased God to prevent, yet later times have shewen how pernicious this *Doctrine* hath proved unto *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, &c. in the slaughter of so many hundreth thousand *Papists* and *Protestants*, upon the very point (principally) of *Heresie*, *Idolatrie*, &c.

Peace. To end this Chapter: To that observation that *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience* was practiced most in *England*, and such places where *Poperie* reignes, implying that such practices proceed from the great *Whore*, and her *Daughters*: Mr *Cotton* replyes, it is no marvaile he passed by this *observation* in the *Kings* speech, for it was not the Speech of the *King*, but of the *Prisoner*, and it was not the persecuting of *Antichristians*, but of *Nicknamed Puritans*, and of them too without *Conviction* of the *Errour* of their way: He addeth that he could never see "Warrant to call that *Church* an *Whore*, that worshipped the "true *God* onely in the name of *Jesus*, and depended on him "alone for *Righteousnesse* and *Salvation*, and that it is (at least) "a base part of a *childe* to call his Mother *whore*, who bred him "and bred him to know no other *Father*, but her lawfull *Husband* the *Lord Jesus Christ*

Truth. Whether the *Observation* was the *Kings*, or the *Prisoners*, yet it was passed by: And if those *Puritants* or *Protestants* persecuted, were not *convinced*, Himselfe (as he here sayth) never saw Warrant, that is, was *convinced*, for to call such a *Church* as he here describeth, an *Whore*, yet not a few of his *opposites* will say, and that aloud, that *He* and *they* were or might have been convinced, what ever *He* or *they* themselves thought. The truth is, the *carnall Sword* is commonly the *Judge* of the *conviction* or *obstinacie* of all *supposed Hereticks*. Hence the faithfull *Witnesses* of *Christ*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, had not a word to say in the *Disputations* at *Oxford*: Hence the *Non-conformists* were cryed out as obstinate Men, abundantly convinced by the Writings of *Whitgift* and others: And so in the Conference before King *James* at *Hampton Court*, &c.

The strongest Arme & sword the ordinarie Judge of the Conviction of Conscience.

But concerning the *Church* of *England*, whether a *daughter* or no of the *Great Whore* of *Rome*, It is not here seasonable to repeate what the *Witnesses* of *Christ* to *Bonds*, *Banishments*, and *Death* (whom Mr *Cotton* here calls the rigid *Seperation*) have alledged in this case. I thinke it here sufficient to say two things.

Touching the Nationall Church of England.

things. First, Mr *Cotton* himselfe is thought to believe that it is not a *profession* of *words* containing many *fundamentall Doctrines* that makes a people a true *Church*, who professing to know *God*, yet in *workes* deny him; notwithstanding that amongst them by *Gods* gracious *Dispensation* much good may be wrought by many.

Reall denying, the greatest denying of Christ Jesus.

2. Mr *Cotton* himselfe will not say that ever *Christ Jesus* was married to a *Nationall Church*, which all men know the *Church* of *England* ever was, and Mr *Cotton* elsewhere acknowledgeth (as *Nationall*) to be none of *Christs*, but onely *Churches Congregationall*.

Exam: of Chap. 60. *Concerning the* Romane Emperours, *which did or did not* persecute.

Peace. WHereas it was answered, that *Godly Persons* (as some *Godly Emperours*) might doe evill, to wit, in *persecuting*: And *ungodly Emperours* in not persecuting, might doe well, &c. Mr *Cotton* replyes, This begs the *Question*, to say that *Kings* alledged by the *Prisoner* did that which was good, but *Kings* alledged by Mr *Cotton* (though better persons) did that which was *Evill*.

Truth. I think Mr *Cotton* mistakes the *poore Prisoner* if he conceives him to have argued from the *Number*, or (by way of *comparison*) the *Qualitie* or *Goodnesse* of the *Kings*. I am sure he mistaketh the Discusser, who argues neither from their *Persons*, nor *Number*, nor *Practices*, but from the *waight* of their *Speeches*, *qualified* onely with the *consideration* of their *State*: Their *Speeches* Mr *Cotton* passed by, but now hath waighed, though not so fully as it may please *God* to cause *Himselfe*, or *others* to doe hereafter.

Peace. I conceive it to be a further mistake, to thinke the Discusser accounted the *Persons* alledged by Mr *Cotton* better *Persons* then those alledged by the *Prisoner*.

Truth. The Discusser compared them not, but desired that their *Speeches* and *Arguments* might have their just and due *waight*, and then I believe it will be found, not a *begging*, but a *winning* of the *Question*, even from the *Testimonie* of some *Kings* themselves.

Chap. 61. *replying to* Chap. 64. *Examined.*

Peace. IN this Chapter *God* is pleased to leave Mr *Cotton* to fall into two *Evills*, then which (ordinarily) *greater* cannot be among the *sonnes* of *Men*: I speake not of the *Aggravations* of *malice* and *obstinacie*, which I hope the most gracious *Lord* will keepe him from, but of the *sinnes* themselves in *themselves*: The One is monstrous *Blasphemie* and abominable profanation of the most holy Name of his most *High* and holy *Maker*, &c. The second extreamest *Crueltie* and *Tyrannie* against *Men* his fellow *Creatures*.

Two high Transgressions objected against Mr Cotton.

For the first, after a new *refined fashion* and dress, he projects how to turne this whole *Dunghill* of the corrupt and *rotten World*, into a most sweet and fragrant *Garden* of the *Church*, or *Dove* of *Christ*.

For the second, he contents not Himselfe with the *Severitie* and *Crueltie* of former times exercised by the *Emperours* professing the Name of *Christ*, against such, whom they reputed *Hereticks*, but blames them for applying too favourable and gentle *Medicines* of *Exile* and *Banishment*, and in *plaine tearmes* he sayth, It had been better they had put them to death.

Truth. Your observation (sweet *Peace*) is full of *pietie* and *Mercy*: It is most true, that a private *opinion*, or an *Act* of *Antichristianisme* and *Idolatrie*, like a dead flie, may cause a sweet pot of *Christian Oyntment*, to yeeld a *stincking savour*, but such a *Doctrine*, of such a *generall Nature* and extent, as reaches to *all men*, to all the *World* (in my apprehension) should cause Men to feare and tremble at such *Rocks*, against which such *Gallant vessells* may *strike*, and *split*, if the most *holy* and *jealous God*, be pleased a little to withdraw his holy hand from the *steering* of them.

Peace. Let me (Deare *Truth*) summe up the *Heads*, to which I shall request your *Consideration*.

Touching the Romane Emperours practices in Religious Affaires.

It is true (sayth Mr *Cotton*) when *God* advanced *Constantine* and other *Christian Emperours* to sit on the *Throne*, the *Church* soone became a *Wilderness*, and he also seemeth to consent "that the *unknowing zeale* of *Constantine* and other good *Empe-* "*rours* did more hurt to *Christianitie*, then the raging fury of "bloudie

"bloudie *Neroes:* But withall he addeth that their *unknowing* "*zeale* did not lye in punishing notorious *Hereticks, Seducers,* "&c. And he sayth, that the *Church* never had hurt by such "*punishments.* He affirmeth that it is no *Sollecisme* in *Religion* "for the whole *World* to become *Christian:* that the *World* be-"came *Antichristian* by the *tolleration* of *Princes*, and their ad-"vancing of *Church affaires,* together with the *unwatchfullnesse* "of such being advanced: that if the *World* had renounced "*Paganisme,* and professed *Christ* to be the Sonne of *God,* but yet "had been kept from the *Fellowship* of the *Church* till they had "approved their *profession* by a sincere *conversation,* it had been "no *Sollecisme,* &c.

Further, He sayth, the *Christian Emperours* did permit *Here-*"*ticks* to live in the field of the *World*, that they seldome or "never put them to Death for *hereticall pravitie* (though it had "been *better* (sayth he) they had so done with *some* of them, "but onely *expelled* them from *populous Cities* and *Countries,* "where the *Gangrene* might spread, &c.

Truth. You have well summd up (*Sweet Peace*) I shall briefly touch these *Heads,* with *Gods* assistance; and first concerning the *zeale* of the *Romane Emperours.* It is confest by Mr *Cotton,* that upon the good *Emperours* coming to the *Throne,* the *Church* soone became a *Wildernesse,* and that was a greater hurt and mischiefe then ever befell the *Saints* and *Churches* under the fierie *persecution* of the most *bloudie Neroes*; surely such *zeale* that brought forth such *fruit* to *Christianitie* might seeme justly to be suspected not to be kindled from *Heaven*, but from *Men.*

Christs Garden gaines by violent Stormes, and looseth by sweete Sunshines.

2. It seemes not *reasonable* to the weakest understanding, nor suitable to the *wisdome* and constant *care* and *love* of *Christ Jesus* to his *Wife* and *Spouse* in his *absence,* that the *Romane Emperours* should be such *Godly Persons*, and that also neither by *Christ Jesus* nor his *Apostles* or *Messengers* the least *word* should be directed to them, when, as yet, they were *extant,* in *Christs* and his *Messengers* times; and (by the *bloudie Tenent*) must be supposed *invested* with so high a *calling* too, so high a *worke* and *dutie,* as higher is not to be performed in the whole *World* (and that *Ex Officio*) to wit, the *Establishing, Governing, Reforming,* &c. the *Church,* the *Spouse,* and *Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus.*

The Romane Emperours.

The Arrians *persecuted and persecuting.*

Peace. 2. The *Church* and *Servants* of *Christ* had great hurt (notwithstanding Mr *Cottons* contrary beliefe) by the *Emperours* persecuting, of whom they judged *heretical*, partly in that the *Arrians* were hardned by their *sufferings*, and *Arrianisme* increased by the *sufferings* of the *professours* of it; as also that the *Christians* were more severely persecuted (as hath often also come to passe (in the *Interchanges* between the *Papist* and the *Protestant*) when the *Arrians* came to weare the *Sword*, and the *Orthodox Christians* were under *Hatches*.

The great Difference between this World and Christ.

Truth. 3. But that the *whole World* that wonders after and worshippeth the *Beast*, should yet possibly be of the small *Number*, that follow the *Lambe*, and stand opposite to the *Beast*, on Mount *Zion*: That the *World* upon whom the *vialls* of *plagues* and *vengeance* are to be powred according to the infallible *Prophecies* (not to speak of the *World* from other *Scriptures*) that this whole *World* (I say) should be brought into such an *Onenes* with *Christ Jesus*, seemes so crosse to the *fundamentall Enmitie* between *Christs Seede* and the *Serpents*, to the *priviledges* of the *Saints*, to the *puritie* of *Christ*, to the *streame* of *Scripture*, and in particular to the sweete last *Will* and *Testament* of the *Lord Jesus*, and the *nature* of his particular *Flocks*, &c. That I cannot wonder sufficiently, how any man professing but a small *Knowledge* of the *Mysteries* and *Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, should be so vailed, so obscured, so to write of the state of *Christs Church* and the *World*, as Mr *Cotton* doth?

Peace. *Christ Jesus* (Blessed *Truth*) gave not thankes to his most holy, most wise *Father* in vaine, for hiding from *Wise and Prudent*, and opening to *Babes* and *Sucklings*.

A Christianitie strange from Christ.

Truth. 4. But further, Such a Conversion of *People* from *Idolatrie* to *Christianitie*, as fits them to be *professours* of the *Sonne* of *God*, but yet not fits them for the *Fellowship* of *Christians* in *Church State*, I finde not in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*. Surely the *Conversion* of the *Thessalonians* was not such, 2 *Thess.* 1. Who turned not onely from *Idolls*, but to serve the living and *true God*, which service of *God* in *Christ* no Soule uprightly in love with *Christ Jesus*, but (in its measure) longs after, as vehemently and cordially as ever *chast Spouse* after her dearest earthly *Husbands* presence and Enjoyment, *Cant.* 1. & 3. & 5.

Peace. *Gods Spirit* (in *John*) describes one Difference, &c.

between

between the true *Spirit* and *Professours*, and the *false*, to wit, that such as acknowledge (that is truely as I conceive) *Christ Jesus* to become in the flesh, are borne of *God*.

Truth. Yea therefore consequently such a *Spirit* cannot be of *Jesus*, that makes such a profession of *Christ Jesus* as the *Devills* themselves may make, and (even for want of *Regeneration* and *Personall Grace*,) the *professours* are not fit for the *Fellowship* of the true *Christian Worship*, and *Worshippers*. *Antichristian Christianitie.*

5. But lastly, if Mr *Cotton*, or any of his bloudie *Judgement* woare the *Imperiall Crowne* of the *Worlds Majestie*, what *slaughters* shall we imagine the *World* should heare and feele ? Whether would such *fierie zeale* transport Men? Yea what an *Earthly Dunghill Religion* and *Worship* should the most *High God* be served with, fit onely for the *Dunghill Gods* and *Goddesses*, whom all *Asia* (as the *Towne-clarke* speakes) and the *World* worshippeth.

Peace. If the Report of Mr *Cottons* interpreting that *Scripture* of *Serving God* with all our *Might*, &c. be true, to wit, of employing our *Civill Armes* and *Forces* to the utmost, and that against other *Peoples* professing *Idolatrie* and *Antichristianisme* : His *Conscience* (as I conceive) must needs force on and presse after, an *universall Conquest* of all *Consciences*, and under that (like those bloudie *Spaniards*, *Turkes* and *Popes*) lay under that *faire cloake*, the *Rule* and *Dominion* over all the *Nations* of the *Earth*. *The bloudie Tenent tends to an universall Conquest of the whole World.*

Truth. But may not Mr *Cotton* better listen to the voyce of the *Lord Jesus*, saying to him and such of his *bloudie Tenent*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of : Were the *Emperours* too favourable (as Mr *Cotton* sayth) in but *Banishing* ? How *keene* a *Sword* would Mr *Cotton* draw against so many *Millions* of *Gangreene Soules* throughout the *Turkish* and the *Popish World* ? *The bloudie Tenent in its colours.*

Peace. Oh, how farre different would Mr *Cottons* Sword be from the *Sword* of the *Spirit* of *God*, proceeding from the *Mouth* of *Christ Jesus*, yet sharpe enough with *two edges*, piercing between *Soule* and *Spirit*, &c.

Truth. Yea how farre different from the *Meeke Spirit* of the *Lambe* of *God*, who came not to destroy *Mens lives*, but to save them, yea how different from the former *meeke* and noted gentle

tle *Temper* of Mr *Cottons* own *Spirit*, now over-heat and enflamed by his *unmercifull* and *bloudie Tenent?*

Exam: of Chap. 62. *replying to* Chap. 65.

Peace. WHen Mr *Cotton* was justly observed to use the *Language* of *Lyon*-like *persecution* in these words, "[More and greater Princes then these you mention have not "tollerated *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*, notwithstanding their "pretence of *Conscience*, and their arrogating the Crowne of "Martyrdome to their suffrings] He defendeth such *Language* by the *Scripture Freedome* in such *Tearmes* against *Sinners*, which sayth he, the Discusser acknowledgeth.

No Booke or Writing ever so abused as the holy Writing & Scripture of God is.

Truth. In holy Scripture are many *Expressions* full of *Holinesse*, *Gravitie*, *Love*, *Meeknesse*, &c. which yet are wrested by us poore Men to *unholy* and *unchristian Ends* and *purposes*. How many wofully pervert many *grave* and heavenly *Passages* and *Expressions* of holy *Scripture* to base and filthy *Jeasting?* How many from some *sharp Expressions* of *Christ Jesus* and *Paul* (in *cases*) take licence to *raile* and call Men all to naught, in *Wrath*, *Revenge*, and *Passion?* And how many out of *pride* and *false zeale* trampling upon the *Heads* and *Consciences* of all *Men*, are ready (not in an holy Meeke and *Christian* way but) in a *Pharisaicall*, *Bishop-like* and *Pope-like* way, to roare and thunder out against *Gods meekest Servants* the odious *tearmes* of *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c. Which *tearmes* though used in holy *Scripture*, yet never in such a *way*, as *commonly* and *constantly* the *bloudie* and *persecuting* expresse themselves in.

The Language of persecutours.

Peace. But what or whom meanes Mr *Cotton* in this *passage*, what *Language* have they learned, who in point of *worship* have left *Zion*, but not the *Gates* and *Suburbes* of *Babylon*, for they set up *Bull-warkes* of *Impunitie* to secure them.

Truth. Surely Mr *Cotton* knowes that none that plead against the *Civill Power* and *Weapons* in *Spirituall Matters*, but they also maintaine, that, there ought to be in vigorous use the *Spirituall* and *two edged Sword* that comes forth of *Christs Mouth* (not for the *Impunitie* but) for the *Ruine* and *Destruction* of all *Babells Brats* and *Abominations*.

Peace.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* spends many lines, and quotes *Austin* to prove, that *Julians* End of tollerating *Heresie* to grow, was to choake *Christianitie.*

Truth. What ever were *Julians* End, yet I deny that *Tollera-tion* of the weedes of *Heresie* and blasphemous *Religion* (*Paganish, Turkish, Jewish, Popish*) in the field of the *Civill State* and *World*, hath power to choake the *vitalls* of *Christianitie* in the *Garden* or *Bodie* the *Church* of *Christ Jesus.*

Julian *his Tolleration.*

And concerning *Infection*, It is to be observed that when the holy Scripture speakes by the *Similitudes* of *Leaven*, *Gangrene*, or *Poysonfull weedes*, of *Wolves*, or *scabbed sheepe*, &c. it is commonly with respect to such Evills got in among the *Saints* and *Churches*, the *Flocks* and *Gardens* of *Christ*, where such *Leaven, weedes*, &c. tollerated may spread and infect: But what is this to the *Lyons, Beares*, or *Wolves*, not to be suffered in the *Wilderness*, or *Swine*, or *Dogs*, in the common *high wayes*; or *weedes* in the *Common* or *Forest*, which all may be, and yet the *Garden, Body*, and *Flock* of *Christ* be pure and safe from such *Infection.*

Touching Infection of false Doctrine, &c.

Peace. One *passage* more is very Considerable. In former *Discourse* about the *Tares* Mr *Cotton* was large in proving the *permission* of *weedes*, even in the *Church* of *Christ*, and that untill *Christs Comming*, and that after they be discovered to be *Hypocrites.*

Truth. O what a *Distance* is between that *Doctrine* and this here? There the *Tares* must not be touched in the *Garden* of the *Church*, here they must not be suffred abroad in the field of the *World*, for feare of *choaking* the *good plants* in the *Garden* of *Christ.* Who can finde out how these *Doctrines* suit with *Godlinesse*, with *Reason*, or *Themselves?*

Hypocrites tollerated in the Church, but not in the World.

Peace. But now you speake of *suiting:* It is (sayth Mr *Cotton*) (for a close) a plaine *Contradiction* of the Discussers former Speech to say, that *persecuting* of others was a meanes of *choaking Christianitie*, whereas he had said, that *Constantines unknowing zeale* did more hurt to *Christs Kingdome*, then the raging furie of the most bloudie *Neroes.*

Truth. Let the words be well weighed, and no such *Affirmacc tion* will be found: The words are; [It was not when *Chricc stians* lodged in cold *Prisons*, but in *Down: Beds* of *Ease*, and

perse-

"*persecuted* others.] The Discusser made not *persecution* to be a *meanes* of *choaking Christianitie*, but attributes the *Losse* of *Christians Life* and *Love*, to those *Beds* of their abused *Sweete prosperitie*.

2. If he had made *persecution* a meanes to *choake Christianitie*, it had been the *persecution* of *Christians* among *Themselves*, and not the *persecution* of bloudie *Neroes*: Which yet if it had been so, it might yet be no *Contradiction*, for *Neroes persecution* might doe hurt, although *Constantines* unknowing zeale might doe much more.

Exam: of Chap. 63. *replying to* Chap. 66.

Peace. MAster *Cotton* here being understood to *smile* on Q: *Elizabeth* for persecuting the *Papists*, and to *frowne* on K: *James* for *persecuting* the (so named) *Puritans*, he denies neither, but insists onely upon the *Number*, that as *many* and as *great Princes* are against *Tolleration* as for it, and in particular Q: *Elizabeth* and K: *James*.

Touching the Persecution of K: James *and Q:* Elizabeth.

Truth. I say (as before) I should never use an *Argument* from the *Number* of *Princes* (no more then from the *Number* of any other men) for any truth of *Christ Jesus*: Who as he was not pleased himselfe to be borne of the *sons* of *Nobles*, so hath he not chosen many *Nobles* and *Wise men* of this *World* to be borne of him: Yet 2. If that be his *Argument*, he hath not satisfied, in naming these two, for more were named by the *Prisoner*, and besides one of these *Witnesses*, K: *James* abundantly declared himselfe, not onely against *persecuting* of *Papists*, but against all *persecution* in generall, what ever otherwise or afterwards his practices were against some Persons, as Mr *Cotton* too truely alledgeth.

Truth. In the next *Passage* the Discusser having objected that both Q: *Elizabeth* and K: *James* did persecute according to their *Consciences*, and arguing why should the one (namely) K: *James* be more blamed for *persecuting* according to his *Conscience*, then Q: *Elizabeth* for *persecuting* according to hers: Mr *Cotton* distinguisheth of *Consciences*: The *Queenes* sayth he, was rightly informed, but the *Kings* was not. When it was replyed,

ed, that either K: *James*, and such *Princes* whose *Consciences* (according to Mr *Cottons Conscience*) are ill informed, must act according to their *Consciences*, or else they want the *Qualification* and *Fitnes* for such *places*: Mr *Cotton* answers two Things.

First, that such *Qualifications* are not *Essentiall*, but *Integrall.*

Secondly, That such *Princes* must forbeare all *Civill Censures* in *matters* of *Religion* untill they be better informed.

Truth. It is most true as Mr *Cotton* sayth, if we speake of the right of *Succession*, a *childe* may be a *Lawfull King* (as K. *James* himselfe was being but a yeare old) But if we speake of the *Qualifications* of the *minde*, by which a *King* is enabled to rule his *State* (as is supposed *Ecclesiasticall* and *Civill*, and to judge under *Christ Jesus* in all *Causes Ecclesiasticall* as well as *Civill*: Surely, he that knowes not which is the true *Church*, true *Ministrie*, true *Ordinances*; yea and *persecutes* the true *Church*, *Ministrie*, and *Worship*, what ever his *Qualifications* be for the *Government* of the *Civill State*, yet can it never be made good that he is furnished with any *Essentiall Qualification* for the *Spirituall Administration*, any more then He that undertakes to be a *Guide*, and yet is *blinde*, and never set foote in the *way*, and knowes not the *true* from the *false*: Or to be a *Captaine Generall*, yea or but a *Shepheard*, &c. 2. Beside, *Christ Jesus* never calld any person to any *Employment* of his, to any *Worke*, whom he inables not in a *Measure* proportionably, &c.

Touching the Qualification of Princes.

Peace. In such cases (sayth Mr *Cotton*) *Princes* are *called* to *suspend* and *forbeare* all *Execution* of *Civill Censures* in the *matters* of *Religion*, till they be better informed, least they doe *persecute* the *Son* of *God* in stead of the *Son* of *Perdition.*

Truth. I answer: First, Then Mr *Cotton* hath cut off K: *James* from acting, though so long esteemed and sworne Supreame in all Causes Ecclesiasticall.

Secondly, I aske, how *many* shall forbeare, and *how long*, for evident then it is that most (beyond all comparison) of all the *Princes* and *Magistrates* in the *World*, must not meddle with this *pretended chiefe part* of their *Dutie* and *Office*, and that (if they convert not) for the whole *Course* and *Race* of their *Life*: In particular, that no *Pagan Magistrate* (of all the ten thou-

Touching Magistrates suspending from acting in matters of Religion.

ſands in the *World*, no *Perſian*, *Turkiſh*, *Popiſh*, nor *Proteſtant* (if *Prelaticall* or *Presbyterian*,) ought to exerciſe any of this *High* and *Glorious Power*, but onely ſuch *Princes* and *Magiſtrates* as are of Mr *Cottons Conſcience*; for otherwiſe what Prince in the world more learned King in his time then King *James*, yet was not he of Mr *Cottons Conſcience*.

Monſtrous partialitie.

Peace. Deare *Truth*: The *fall* of this *partialitie* is ſo *apparant*, and withall ſo *fowle*, that I thinke it impoſſible, but ere long it muſt needs be *condemned* by *Men* on Earth, as doubtleſs it is abhord by the moſt *holy* and *impartiall God*, and his holy *Angells* in *Heaven*: Upon this occaſion I call to minde that famous *Act* of the ſo greatly renowned *Conſtantine*, who in his firſt wearing of the *Diademe*, put forth (his *Colleauge Licinius* concurring alſo) a famous and moſt ſolemne *Charter* and *Edict*, that no man throughout the whole *Empire* ſhould be conſtraind in his *Religion*.

Conſtantines *Edict.*

Truth. Mr *Cotton* (according to his *proviſo* of *ſuſpenſion*) muſt doubtles applaud *Conſtantine* for this his *Forbearance* untill he were better informed, whereas afterward his *Edicts* againſt *Arrius* and *Arrianiſme*, teſtifie his practice to the contrary. But he that ſhall reade ſeriouſly in *Gods preſence* that firſt *Edict* of *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, will there finde *Conſtantine* to uſe ſuch *Arguments*, as might for ever have cauſed him to have forbore *perſecution*; to have ſtill ſuſpended, to have gratified the *Subjects* of all his *Empire* with *Libertie* and *Freedome* in the Point of *Worſhip* and *Religion*.

Fowle imputations caſt on Chriſt Jeſus.

But I will End this Paſſage with this *Querie*; If *Chriſt Jeſus* have left ſuch Power with the *Civill Rulers* of the *World*, *Kingdomes*, and *Countries*, of or for the *Eſtabliſhing*, *Governing*, and *Reforming* his *Church*, what is become of his *Care* and *Love*, *Wiſdome* and *Faithfulneſſe*, ſince in all *Ages* (ſince he left the *Earth*) for the *generall*, beyond all *exception*, he hath left her deſtitute of ſuch *qualified Princes* and *Governours*, and in the Courſe of his *Providence* furniſhed her with ſuch, whom he knew would be, and all men finde as fit, as *Wolves* to protect and feede his *Sheepe* and *People*.

Exam:

Exam: of Chap. 64. *replying to* Chap. 67.

Peace. When it was questioned, what good to the *Soules* or *Bodies* of their *Subjects* did those *Princes* bring in persecuting! Mr *Cotton* produceth a good five-fold that is brought to *Princes* and *Subjects* by the due *punishment* of *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Idolaters*, and *Blasphemers*.

Truth. Let all that feare God and Mr *Cotton* himselfe be perswaded to observe, whether under this *faire cloake* of punishing these and these *spirituall sinners*, he maintaine not strongly (what elsewhere he denies) to wit, *Persecution* for *cause* of *Conscience*. But we know the *Evasion*. It is not for *Apostatizing*, *seducing* out of *Conscience*, but after *Conviction*, against their *Conscience*, &c.

Peace. You have before satisfied me (besides other *Passages*) with this one, that to this End of discerning the poore *Hereticks* sinning against his *Conscience*, the *Civill State*, the *Earth*, the *World* must necessarily Erect its *Tribunall*, to judge not onely *Civill Things*, but even the *Heart* and *Conscience* also; but now to Mr *Cottons* five-fold good. *Unchristian Tribunalls.*

First (sayth he) it puts away *Evill* from the *People*, by cutting off a *Gangrene* which would spread to further *ungodlinesse*, *Deut.* 13. 5. 2 *Tim.* 2. 1. 6. 7. 13.

Truth. I answer, these Scriptures (though pure and holy in their places, yet) are here coupled together as *Linsey Wollsey*, contrary to the Law. *Deut.* 13. which concerns the typicall *Nationall Church*, using *Nationall* & *temporall Weapons*: The 2 *Tim.* 2. concernes the *Particular Congregations* or *Churches* of *Christians*, using onely the *Sword* of Gods *Spirit*, the *Word* of *God*, &c. Dent. 13. 5. & 2 Tim. 2. 16. *Unchristianly conjoyned.*

Beside, *Deut.* 13. concerned such a *People* whom the *Lord* brought forth of *Ægypt* with *Miracles*, into *Canaan*, &c. Let any such People be now produced, excepting the *Christian* (particular) *Churches*. Why doth Mr *Cotton* then alledge this Scripture so frequently, and in these five *Reasons* brings two from hence; This the *first*; and the *Third*, to wit, that all the *People* may *heare* and *feare*, &c. which is alone made good in the *Antitype* or *Christian Church*; according to that 1 *Tim.* 5. 20. *Rebuke* them that sinne openly, that others may learne to *feare*.

2. *Peace.* Mr *Cotton* mentioneth a ſecond good, which is driving away *Wolves* from *worrying* and *ſcattering* the *Sheepe* of *Chriſt.*

Truth. This was largely anſwered in diſcourſing the nature of *myſticall* or *ſpirituall Wolves*, upon that very place which he quotes, *Acts* 20. From whence it may evidently appeare that from the *literall* urging of ſuch *myſticall Scriptures*, all *Peoples* and *Nations* are enforced (and that *Conſcientiouſly*) like *Wolves* and *Lyons* to teare and devoure each other.

3. *Peace.* Mr *Cotton* addes, that *Puniſhments* are *wholeſome Medicines* to ſuch as are curable of ſuch *Evills*, *Zach.* 13.4,5,6.

Truth. I anſwer; All the holy *Appointments* of *God* are moſt *powerfull* (in their ſeverall reſpective *ſeaſons*, and *manner* of *Diſpenſations*, to his owne moſt holy *Ends* and *purpoſes*, &c. The *Materiall Nationall Sword* in the *Nationall Church* of *Iſrael* before *Chriſt:* and the *Spirituall Sword*, in the *ſpirituall* and *Chriſtian Church* ſince his comming to aboliſh thoſe *ſhadowes.*

Touching Excommunication in Iſrael.

As it was therefore in vaine to have cut off or *Excommunicated ſpiritually* in that *Nationall State:* So is it in vaine to uſe the materiall or carnall Sword in the *ſpirituall.* Wherefore (according to this place of *Zach.*) a true penitent will bleſſe *God* for the *Wounds* of *Friends* and *Lovers* (faithfull and ſharpe dealing) and for *Deliverance* from the *Kiſſe* of deceitfull flatterie: But what is this to prove (that which is ſo much denied) to wit, *Corporall Death* or *Wounds* now to be inflicted upon *falſe Teachers* in theſe times of the *Goſpel*, and that in all *parts* and *Nations* of the *World.*

4. *Peace.* The *puniſhment*, ſayth Mr *Cotton*, executed upon *falſe Prophets* and *ſeducing Teachers*, doe bring downe *Showres* of *Gods* bleſſing upon the *Civill State*, 1 King. 18. 40, 41.

Anſ: *Truth.* If that *Nationall State* of *Iſraell*, and that *Nationall* or *Corporeall killing* of ſo many hundreth *falſe Prophets*, and that *literall drouth* and *literall ſhowres* of *Raine* and *plentie* were *figures* of no other *Prophets* and *ſlaughters*, *drouth and ſhowers*, but *literall*, *materiall*, and *corporeall*, (now ſince the *Body* and *Subſtance Chriſt Jeſus* is come): What ſhould hinder but that thoſe *Prieſts* of *Iſrael*, and *Sacrifices*, and *Temple*, and *Nationall Church* ſhould all be in force, for our *Imitation*, *literally*, the one as well as the other?

Peace.

Peace. I cannot possibly conceive but that (all being of the same *Nature*,) the one is *Typicall* as well as the other, and that they must flourish and be glorious (as *Gods Ordinances*,) or *vanish* and *disappeare* (giving place to brighter *dispensations*) at the arising of *Christ Jesus* the *Son* of *Righteousnesse*.

Spirituall Blessings and Curses the Antitypes of Corporall before Christ.

Truth. Hence *false Apostles*, *false Teachers*, *false Prophets*, are *Spiritually cut off*, Revel. 2. 2 Pet. 2. Gal. 4. And *spirituall showres* of *Blessings* descend upon the *Israel* of *God*; for although *corporeall Blessings* of *Food* and *Raiment* and *plentie*, are Gods blessings, yet *principally* under the *Gospel God* blesseth his *Israel*, the *Antitype* with *spirituall Blessings*, Eph. 1. *Houses*, *Lands*, *Fathers*, *Mothers*, *Children*, &c. with persecution, *Mark*. 10.

Great oversight imputed to Christ Jesus.

Peace. Me thinks (Deare *Truth*) If *Christ Jesus* had appointed such *punishments*, such *executions*, literall, in the *Christian Church*, he would also have appointed *Offices* and *Officers* suitable and proper for such *Ends* and *purposes*, such *punishments*, such *executions*.

If civill punishments for spirituall offences: they must be inflicted by holy and Christian Instruments and Officers.

Truth. It cannot otherwise with *Reason* and *common prudence* be supposed, but that, if *Christ Jesus* had appointed (which we finde not in his holy *Testament*) *holy* and *Christian Magistrates* for those great *decrees* and *sentences*, wee should also have read of his holy *Constables*, holy *Sergeants*, holy *Prisons*, holy *Stocks*, holy *Whipping Posts*, holy *Gibbets*, and holy *Tyburnes*; together also with holy *Hangmen*, the *spirituall Instruments* and *Officers* of *Christ Jesus*, for the *Executions* of his holy *punishments* upon *Apostates*, *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, &c.

5. *Peace. Gods Justice* (sayth Mr *Cotton*) is honoured in the *Execution* of such *Judgements*, Revel. 16. 5, 6.

1. *Truth.* I have (to my understanding) formerly shewed Mr *Cottons* mistake in his expounding of this third *Viall*, and have presented an *Exposition* more agreeable with the *scope* of this *Prophecie*.

Peace. 2. *God* was honoured in all his *Judgements* which the *Tyrants* of the World have executed, (the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, *Grecian*, *Romane*) yet not by way of *Law* and *Ordinance*, but in the way of his holy *providence* and just *permission*.

3. *Truth.* Yea the Witnesses of *Jesus*, by the *two-edged Sword* of *God* in their Mouths, execute Gods *Judgements*, to the vindi-

cating

cating of *Gods Glory*, and their *Innocencie*, (Revel. 11.) although they used no *carnall Weapon*.

A true Christ, a true Sword; a false Christ, a false Sword.

4. The holy Name of *God* is much *dishonoured* and *prophaned*, when the *Inventions* of *Men* are set up, against his holy *Appointments*, and when the *Sword* of *Steele* (in *spirituall cases*) is drawen in stead of the *spirituall Sword*, proceeding out of the Mouth of *Christ Jesus* in his *servants Testimonie*. All such worship, is but vaine or idle worship (*Mark. 7.*) and such is the *carnall Sword* and *Executions* of it.

Peace. Whereas it was observed, that Mr *Cotton* acknowledged that Queene *Elizabeth* had well neere fired all *Europe*, by such *Executions*, Mr *Cotton* answers, *God* bore witnesse to his *Truth* in *Deliverances*: And when it was replyed, that *Successe* doth not prove *causes* true, Mr *Cotton* answers, yes; *Psal.* 1. 3, 4. *Jer.* 22. 15, 16, 17.

Truth. I reply, *Temporall prosperitie, successe*, &c. were proper in that *Temporall* and *Civill State*, of that *Nationall Church*, and *spirituall Blessing* and *prosperitie* proper in the Gospel now, *Ephes.* 1.

Peace. 2. It was answered that *God* had given *victorie* to the *Papists*, especially against the *Waldenses* (and the *Beast* makes warre against the *Witnesses*, Revel. 11. and *overcomes* them, &c.) Mr *Cotton* herein first observeth a *Contradiction*, in the words, to wit, that the *Papists* ever had the *victorie*, and yet their *successe* hath been *various*.

Truth. I reply; the words are not that the *Papists* had *ever* the *Victory*, but that they ever had both *Victory* and *Dominion*; which words may be true, although that the *Event* were sometimes *various*.

2. *Peace.* Againe (sayth Mr *Cotton*) Queene *Elizabeth* ever had the *Victorie* against the *Papists*.

Q: Elizabeth her wars against the Papists.

Truth. I answer; Many gracious *Deliverances God* vouchsafed to *Q: Elizabeth*, yet sometimes her *Armies* prospered not against the *Papists*, as in that famous *Expedition* of *Essex*, *Drake* and *Norris* (though in a most righteous cause,) against the *Papists* of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, as also against the *Papists* in *Ireland* and the *Low Countries*, at sometimes.

2. Grant not onely *Deliverances*, but *Victories* and *Successe*, Her *cause* (how ever intermingled) was civill *Defence* of her

Kingdome,

Kingdome, against *Invation* and *Ambition*, *Dominion* and *Conquest*, by *practices* of *Tyrannie* and *oppression*, both against the *English* and the *Hollanders* (especially) as appeared by the horrible *Exactions*, *Outrages*, *Murthers* and *Slaughters* committed upon them by *D'alva* the King of *Spaines Generall*.

Peace. But although the *Papists* (sayth Mr *Cotton*) fought with *various* successe, yet it is *Gods manner* to nurture his *People* with some *crosses*, to teach them not to fight in their owne *strength*, &c.

Truth. Yea and it might also teach them not to fight but with *Christs Weapons* in *Christs Cause*; who hath said, That all that take the *Sword*, that is, (as I conceive) in *Christs cause*, shall perish by it, *Matth.* 26. 52.

3. *Peace.* Concerning the *Walldenses* Mr *Cotton* sayth, They never lost *Victorie*, but when they complied with the *Papists*, and trusted more to their *false prætences*, then to the *Lord*. And he adds, that it is not true, that the *finall successe* of *Victorie* fell to the *Papists*, to the *utter extirpation* of those *Walldenses*; for sayth he, those *Witnesses* were not *extirpated* but *dispersed*. *The Warres of the* Waldenses.

Truth. For their Complying with *Papists*, alas, what can *Gods* little flock, his two *Witnesses* doe with *carnall weapons*, unlesse assisted by *carnall Men*, to whom this *carnall course* causeth them to *bow downe*, *dissemble*, *lye*, &c. as holy *David* with *Achish* and his *Philistims*.

2. For the *Successe* it is evident that the *Waldenses* and their *Adherents*, were so defeated by the *Popes Armies*, that in respect of any *power* to resist, the *Armies* of the *Waldenses* were wholly *extirpated*, although it is true (through *Gods* o're-powring hand) the *Truths* of *Christ* (which the holy *Waldensian Witnesses* testified) were more and more propagated by their *Dispersions*, *Christ Jesus* gaines more by *preaching* his *Truth* in a flying *persecuted dispersion*, then by *fighting* on *Horsbacke* with *carnall weapons* in *carnall companies*, &c. Acts 8. & 11.

4. *Peace.* But, whereas it was observed from *Daniell* and *John* their *Prophecies*, that *Antichrist* was foretold to obtaine great successe against *Christ Jesus*, for a time determined: Mr *Cotton* sayth, Not against *Christ Jesus*, but his *Servants*, and that either in *Suffring* for his *Truth*, or when they ill handled his *Cause*.

Truth.

Truth. Be it ſo, yet the *Propheſies* were true, and truely were fullfilled, and it is *Gods Counſell* that for the time appointed, *Chriſt Jeſus* in his *Truths* and *Servants* is *deſpiſed*, Pſal. 89. &c. How can then *temporall victorie* and *proſperitie* be expected by *Chriſts followers* for *Chriſts Cauſe*, or the *temporall Sword* be an *Ordinance* for *Chriſts ſpirituall Kingdome* and *Worſhip?*

Chriſtian weapons.

5. *Peace.* Now laſtly, when the *weapons* of the *Saints Victories* were mentioned three; (*Revel.* 12.) 1. *Chriſts Bloud.* 2. The *Word* of their *Teſtimonie.* 3. Their *owne Bloud:* Mr *Cotton* anſwers; this is true in *private Chriſtians:* But (ſayth he) the *Sword* of *Gideon*, the *publike Magiſtrate* is the *Lords Sword*, &c. when drawen out for *Gods cauſe* and *Worſhip*, according to *God*, is *Victorious*, Revel. 17. with Revel. 19. 14. 19, 20.

Chriſts Sword.

Truth. I anſwer; *Gideons Sword* (if well examined) will be found a *Figure* of that *ſharpe Sword* of that great *Captaine* and *Generall Chriſt Jeſus*. This *Sword* comes forth of his *Mouth* in the *Preachings* and *Writings* of his *Servants:* other ſword we never finde he uſed in all his *Battells* againſt all his *Adverſaries:* yea even againſt the *Devill* himſelfe and his *Inſtruments.*

Chriſts Warres and Victories, Revel. 17.

Peace. Yea, thoſe very *Victories* of the Saints, *Revel.* 19. are expreſſely won with that *Sword* which comes forth of his *Mouth:* And his owne *white Horſe*, and the *Horſes* of his *Followers*, and the *white Linnen* with which they are clothed, cannot with any ſhew of *Chriſtian Reaſon* hould forth the *carnall præparation* of *white Horſes*, (literally) *Guns*, *Swords*, &c. But of the *Word* of *Meekneſſe*, *Innocencie* and *Righteouſneſſe* (which is interpreted the *Fine Linnen*, verſ. 8.)

Gideons *Army typicall.*

Truth. To ſhut up this Chapter, *Gideons Armie* and *Artillerie* and *Victorie*, cannot be *type* of ſuch *Materiall Armies*, *Artillerie*, and *Victories*, but of a *Spirituall Armie*, fighting with the *Light* and *Teſtimonie* of *Gods Truth* openly *proclaimed*, and the cheareſull breaking of the *earthen Veſſells* of their *Bodies* for *Chriſts Cauſe*, when in *concluſion*, the *Antichriſtian Midianites* (by their *Diviſions* and *Combuſtions*) run their *Swords* in each others *Bowells*, with *mutuall ſlaughters* and *Deſtructions*; as woefull experiences hath declared.

Exam:

Exam: of Chap. 65. *replying to* Chap. 68.

Peace. FRom the *Argument* of the *Testimonie* of *Kings* and *Princes* concerning *persecution* for *matters* of *Religion* in their *Kingdomes* and *Dominions*, the *Prisoner* descended to the Argument from *ancient Writers* : unto some of which sayth the Discusser, the Answerer pleaseth to make Answer : Unto this Mr *Cotton* replyes ; As if any of them were *omitted*, or as if all of them were not *answered* : Compare the *Prisoners Letter* and mine together, and see if I have balked any one of them.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* would here insinuate a *false Charge* : I have compared the *Prisoners Letter*, and the *Answer*, and although Mr *Cotton* hath said *some-thing* to *some-thing*, which every one of them spake : Yet he that impartially will view the *Passages* shall finde, that although in strictnesse of *Gammar Rules*, he may not be said to omit to say some thing to each of them, yet in respect of *Matter* and *Argument*, he hath toucht but some, and that but lightly, as the *Candle* of *Examination* will make it appeare.

Peace. *Hilarius* words in the Letter are these : "The *Christian* "*Church* doth not *persecute*, but is *persecuted* : and lamentable it "is to see the great *folly* of these *Times*, and to sigh at the foo- "lish opinion of this *World*, in that Men thinke by humane "ayde to helpe *God*, and with *worldly pompe* and *power* to un- "dertake to defend the *Christian Church* : I aske you *Bishops*, "what *helpe* used the *Apostles* in the *publishing* of the *Gospel* ? "With the ayde of what *power* did they *Preach Christ*, and *con-* "*vert* the *Heathen* from their *Idolatrie* to *God* ? When they were "in *prisons*, and lay in *chaines*, did they praise or give thankes "to *God* for any *Dignities* or *Graces* and *Favours* received from "the *Court* ? Or doe you thinke that *Paul* went about with "*Regall Mandates* or *Kingly Authoritie*, to *gather* and *establish* the "*Church* of *Christ*? Sought he *protection* from *Nero*, *Vespatian*, &c ? "The *Apostles* wrought with their own hands for their *Main-* "*tenance*, travelled by Land, and wandred from *Towne* to *Ci-* "*tie* to preach *Christ* : Yea the more they were forbidden, the "more they taught and preached *Christ* : But now alas *Humane* "*helpe* must *assist* and *protect* the *Faith*, and give *countenance* to it,

The Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted.

"and by vaine and *worldly Honours* doe men seeke to defend "the *Church* of *Christ*, as if he by his *power* were unable to per-"forme it.

Truth. How many goulden heavenly *Sentences* (like so many precious *Jewells*) are treasured up, in the *Cabinet* of this holy *Testimonie* of *Hilarius?* And yet, but some of them, nay onely one of them doth Mr *Cotton* choose to answer, to wit, this, The *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, but is *persecuted*.

Worldly glory and persecution characters of the false Church.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, Each *inch* and *shread* of *heavenly Gold* is *precious*, forget not therefore the *Addition* in the *Letter*, *Hilarie* "against the *Arrians* thus: The *Church* which formerly by en-"during *miserie* and *Imprisonment*, was knowne to be the true "*Church*, doth now *terrifie* others by *Imprisonment*, *Banishment*, "and *Miserie*, and boasteth that shee is *highly esteemed* of the "*World*, whereas the *true Church* cannot but be *hated* of the "same. In which and other *Passages* of *Hilarius* Mr *Cotton* might see as in a *Glasse*, the foule *spots* of his *owne* and *New Englands face*, in a most lively *Testimonie* against both *bloudie Tenents* and *practices*.

Peace. To close upon the Point: Mr *Cotton* sayth, He cannot make it a *marke* of a *Christian Church* to be *persecuted*, for (*Acts* 9 31.) the *Churches* had rest, &c. Nor a *marke* of a *false Church* to *persecute*; for, *Asa* persecuted the *Prophet* (2 Chron. 16. 10.) *Acts* 7. 51. the true *Church persecuted* the *Prophets*.

The sins of Gods children.

Truth. When the *Scripture* or *common* Reason speakes of a *common marke* or *Character*, proper to one they deny not; but in an *Act*, or unusuall cases that *Marke* or *Character* may be worne by the *Contraries*. *Noah* was *drunk*; *Abraham* lyes; *David* commits *Adulterie*: yet *lying*, *drunkennesse* and *whoredome* were not their ordinarie *Characters*, but the *Markes* of the *common Lyars*, *Drunkards* and *Adulterers* of this *World*: *David* stobd *Uriah* with his Pen, and *Asa* imprisoned the *Prophet*; yet these *Acts* were not their ordinarie *Badges*, but rather *Spots* or *Blemishes*, *Warts*, or *Scabs*, which grew on and were cast off (like *Pauls Viper*) without the note of a *constant marke* or *character*.

It is the propertie of *Fire* to ascend, and *Water* to descend, yet the *Scripture* relates of the *descending* of *Fire*, and the *ascending* of *Water*, which takes not away the *ordinarie Nature* of the

marke

marke and *character* of *Fires ascending*, and *Waters descending* the *Hills* and *Mountaines*.

An arrant *Whore* is not alwayes in actuall *Whoredome* and *Bloud*, though both are her *Markes* and *Dispositions*: A *chast* wife or *Virgin* abhorres both, and yet by force or great *Temptation*, may be *vanquished* (as *Bathsheba*) which afterwards the *Teares* of godly *Sorrow* and *Repentance* wash away.

Peace. Yea but, the *Question* is (sayth Mr *Cotton*) whether *Magistrates* may not punish arrogant *Hereticks* and *Seducers*?

Truth. In all ages *God* hath permitted, *Goulden Images* (like *Nebuchadnezzars*) to be set up, I say *State Worships* and *Religions*! And he hath also provided his *Witnesses* to testifie his *Truth* against such *Abominations*: Such *Witnesses dissenting*, *Nonconforming*, and refusing to come to the *Common Assemblies* of such *Worshippers* (to come to *Church* in plaine *English*) to yeeld *Conformitie*, to *Subscribe*, to *Sweare*, &c. are commonly cryed downe for *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks*, &c. And if they open their Lips in defence of their owne *Conscience*, and profession of *Gods Truth*! *Seducers*, *Seducers*, *Blasphemers*, *Blasphemers*.

Christs Witnesses.

2. *Peace.* But 2. sayth Mr *Cotton*) it is another begging of the *Question*, to take it for granted, that it is a *marke* of no true *Church* to procure the *Civill punishment* of incorrigible, obstinate *Hereticks* and *Seducers*.

Truth. I intend by a *marke* or *character*, an inbred constant *disposition*, put forth in a *constant* and *ordinarie practice*: And then I dare challenge Mr *Cotton* to produce any true *Church* of *Christ*, eyther in *Scripture* or *Historie*, that did *ordinarily* and *constantly* *professe* and *practice* to stirre up the *Civill Magistrate* against such whom they judged incorrigible *obstinate Hereticks* and *Seducers*.

A true Wife of Christ no persecutour.

Peace. That which follows is full of *Wonder* and *Astonishment*, for Mr *Cotton* confessing the *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, that is (sayth he) *persecute* in *Excommunicating* the *Heretick*) it was replyed; this is but an Evasion, for who denies Power to *Christs Church* to *Excommunicate*? or who understands by *Excommunication*, *persecution* for *Conscience*? Mr *Cotton* answers; the *Prisoner* did not expresse himselfe, what *persecution* he meant, and also since *false Excommunication* is a great *persecution*, and so *Christ Jesus* himselfe esteemes of it, *Luk.* 21. 22.

Touching persecution what it is.

Truth. I have formerly and muſt againe appeale to the *nature* of the *word*, commonly uſed and taken, and aske, if *perſecution* properly ſo taken be not a *corporeall violence*, or *hunting* for *Religion* and *Conſcience* ſake! And then halfe an eye will ſee through this poore and thin *excuſe* and *covering*, notwithſtanding that falſe *excommunication* be a *ſpirituall perſecution*, and the abuſe of the *ſpirituall Sword* be alſo *deeper* and *fouler* then the *abuſe* of the *civill* and *materiall*.

Peace. To this (upon the Point) Mr *Cotton* conſented, to wit, that *Hilarius* complaint, ſpeaketh not to *Excommunication*, but *civill cenſures*, and therefore anſwers, firſt by *proportion* that *excommunication* of an *Heretick* is no *perſecution*, and therefore by *proportion* neither is the *civill puniſhment* of an *Heretick*, *perſecution*. By *conceſſion* of *Hilaries* words, that the *Apoſtles* did not, and we may not propagate *Religion* by the *Sword*.

Truth. The Queſtion with *Hilarie* was not whether a true *Church* did *perſecute* an *Heretick Idolater*, *Blaſphemer*, &c. but whether a true *Church* perſecuted at all by *civill cenſures*: Now there being *two States*, the *Civill* or *Corporeall*, and the *Eccleſiaſticall* or *ſpirituall*: There are conſequently two ſorts of *Lawes*, two ſorts of *Tranſgreſſions*, two ſorts of *puniſhments*, to wit, *Civill* and *Spirituall*, and there muſt of neceſſitie be two ſorts of *falſe* or *corrupt puniſhments*, which are not *juſt puniſhments*, but *oppreſſions*, *perſecutions* or *huntings*, to wit, the *Civill perſecution* and the *ſpirituall*: Now Mr *Cotton* (confounding *Heaven* and *Earth* together) deceives himſelfe and others by a notion of *ſpirituall perſecution*, to wit, by *Excommunication*, contrary to *Hilaries ſcope*, and the *ſcope* of this whole *Diſpute* and *Controverſie*.

Difference between a civill and ſpirituall State.

I may illuſtrate it thus: Some *Tutours* of *Kings Children*, not being authorized to correct the *Bodies* of ſuch *young Princes*, are ſaid ſometimes (not without ſome deſert) to correct the *Bodies* of *Inferiours* (the young *Princes Favourites*,) by which the minds of ſuch young *Princes* ſmarted *ſufficiently*, if not *exceedingly*. I parallell not the *ſimilitude* in all reſpects, but to illuſtrate the *difference* and *diſtinction*, between a *ſpirituall puniſhment* of the *minde*, and *ſpirit*, *ſoule* and *affections*, with which *Chriſt Jeſus* hath furniſhed his *Churches*: and that *Civill* or *corporall puniſhment*, which he never gave them power to inflict (unleſſe in *miraculous diſpenſation*) over the *Bodies* of any, *directly* or *indirectly* by *Themſelves* or *others*.

The nature of ſpirituall puniſhment.

Peace.

Peace. It is an everlasting Truth; *Rightly distinguish, rightly Teach:* but let us view Mr *Cottons* Second Answer, He grants that the *Christian Religion* was not, nor is not to be *propagated* by the *Sword.*

Truth. Then let *Heaven* and *Earth* judge, if Mr *Cotton* may not (in this case) out of his owne *mouth* be judged, since in this whole *Discourse* he sets the visible *Headship* of *Christ Jesus* (that golden *Head*, Cant. 5.) over the *Church* and all her *Officers, Doctrines* and *Practices*, (in the power of *Correcting, Reforming*, &c.) on the *shoulders* of the *Civill State*, the *Ministers* and *Officers* thereof: provided that they execute not this *Headship* or *Government*, except they be able to judge, that is, (in *English*) provided they be of his *Conscience* and *Judgement*, and so consequently will *judge* and *execute*, according to the *Clergies* (though implicite) *decree* and *sentence.*

The nature of Christs spiritu-all Government.

Peace. It is not much unlike that Mr *Cotton* affirmeth in the words following: for although he confesseth it is not proper for *Christian Churches* to inflict *Civill punishments* by *Themselves*, yet makes he (as all *Popes* and *Popish persecutours* have done) the *Magistrates* and *Civill powers*, their *servants* and *slaves* for execution, &c.

The Civill Powers and Officers the Clergies Executioners.

Truth. This Mr *Cotton* covers over with this *Similitude*, saying that although it is not proper for *Lambes* to teare *Wolves*, yet if they were reasonable they would run to their *Shepheards* to send out their *Dogs* after them.

Now under this fine *Paint* and *vizard* of *Lambe-like dispositions* of *Shepheards*, the *Bishops, Presbyterians*, and *Independents*, may render the *Civill Magistrate* not as *Shepheards*, but no other upon the point and in *plaine English*, then their *servants* and *Executioners*, to punish such on whom the *Clergie* first have past their Sentence. The bloudie *Papists* have commonly used to persecute *Christ Jesus formally* and *judicially*, delivering over *Christ Jesus* (in his Servants) orderly to *Pontius Pilate*, the *Secular Power*. The *Protestant persecutors* use a *finer vaile* (every ugly *vizard* will not so deceive) for though they practice not so *above boord*, in respect of a formall and judiciall delivering of *Christ* (the *Heretick*) unto their *Shepheard Pontius Pilate* the *Secular power*, yet they doe it, and doe it as substantially and fully by *preaching* and *chalking* out to their *servants* the *Magi-*

strates,

ſtrates, their task, I ſay, as fully as ever the bloudie *Popes*, the *Biſhops*, or their *Chancellours* did.

Peace. But why (ſayth Mr *Cotton*) ſhould a *Chriſtian Church* ſpare an *Idolater* tempting of her now, any more then the eye of an holy *Iſraelite* was to ſpare the like *Tempters* in the dayes of old, *Deut.* 13. 3?

Spirituall Judgements more terrible ſince Chriſt, then corporall before his coming.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* cannot get over this *block*, though it be but a *ſhadow*, yea the *ſhadow* of a *ſhadow*, aboliſhed by *Chriſt Jeſus*: Mr *Cotton* a little before grants that the *power* of *ſpirituall chaines* far exceeds the power of *materiall*, and if ſo how cleere is it, that the *ſpirituall impartialitie* and *ſeveritie* of a *Virgin Iſraelite* now, is incomparablie *ſharper* and more *dreadfull*, by putting *ſpiritually* to Death ſuch as *Tempt* them from the *Lord* their *God*, who hath brought them forth of *Ægypt* into *ſpirituall Canaan*, then the *impartialitie* and *ſeveritie* of any literall *Iſraelite*, againſt ſuch as tempted them from the *Lord*, who in a Type had brought them forth of materiall *Ægypt* into *materiall Canaan?*

I adde (ſweete *Peace*) to end this Chapter, If the *Father* of *Lights* graciouſly pleaſe to open a *crevis* of *Light* to that (otherwiſe) *excellent* and *piercing* eye of Mr *Cotton* in this *Controverſie*, he will confeſſe concerning this cutting off in *Iſrael* theſe two things.

The cutting off or Excommunicating from the holy Land of Iſrael *figurative and typicall.*

Firſt, that the cutting off in *materiall Iſrael*, was by *Swords*, *Stones*, &c. a cutting off from the *holy Land*; and a caſting out of *Gods ſight*, which *cutting* off *God* executed either by legall *Judgement* and *Sentence* among Themſelves, or by furious hand of *perſecutours* and *oppreſſours*, *ſlaughtering* or *captivating* that People.

Secondly, That there is no other cutting off in the *Goſpel*, but by the *ſpirituall Sword* of the *Word* & *Ordinances* of *Chriſt*, or the violent hand of *Oppreſſours*, *Antichriſtians*, &c. carrying Gods *Iſrael* captive into *myſticall Babylon*, or *Ægypt* of falſe *Worſhip*, or *worldly corruption*, which is ten thouſand-fold more *terrible* and *dreadfull*, then the literall and materiall *Captivitie* of *Iſrael.*

Exam:

Exam: of Chap. *66. replying to* Chap. *69.*

Peace. HEre Mr *Cotton* complaines of wrong, in that the Discusser chargeth him to plead for *persecution*, and yet confesseth that he agrees with *Hilarie*.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* indeed agrees with *Hilarie* in *generall profession*, that the *Gospel* is not to be propagated by *Sword*, but in particulars he affirmes, the *Blasphemer*, the *Idolater*, the *Heretick*, the *Seducer* is to be *persecuted*. In the *generall* he saith, the *Magistrate* may not *constraine* any to *believe* & *professe* the *Truth*, yet in particulars; thus far saith he, a man may be *constrained* by the *Magistrates* withdrawing *Countenance* and *Favour*, *Incouragement* and *Employment* from him, which affirming, what doth he else but affirme that he may be *constrained*, deposed, punished, that is, *persecuted*.

A twofold way of constraint.

Peace. Indeed such kinde of *punishment*, as to displace men, to keepe them out from all *offices*, or *places* of *Trust* and *Credit* (because of *difference* of *Conscience*) may prove in the particular a *greater affliction* and *punishment*, then a *Censure*, a *Fine*, *Imprisonment*, yea sometimes more bitter to some *Spirits* then *Death* it selfe.

Truth. Yea and Mr *Cottons* ground is both *unsafe* and *darke*, and needs a *candle* of Light to discover the *bottome* and *compasse* of it: Such, saith he, as walke not according to their *Light*, are neither true *servants* to *God* nor *Man*, but

First, what meanes here Mr *Cotton* by *Light*? Light in this sence is commonly taken two wayes.

What it is to walke according to a mans Light.

First, For that is *Light* indeed, to wit, the precious Light of *Gods* revealed will.

Secondly, That which so appeares to be, to a mans minde and *Conscience*, but may be a *falshood*, a *lye*, a *mistake*, and *darknesse*. Mr *Cotton* had done well to have distinguished, for (before) he blamed King *James* for walking according to his *Light*: and although (upon the point) he makes the *Civill Magistrates* in all parts of the *World*, the *Heads*, *Protectours*, and *Governours* of *Christs Church*; yet if the *eyes* of these *Heads* see not by his *Light*, he *cuts* off these *Heads*, forbidding them to act as *Heads*, and to walke according to their *Light*, they must (as often

often he tells us) suspend, untill they have *Light*, &c.

Conviction two-fold: Sufficient in it selfe: or to the partie efficacious.

2. *Peace.* Beside, it comes oft to passe, that the *Light* which shines by *preaching* or *practice* of others, although it be a meane sufficient to *convince*, if *God* please to blesse it, yet untill the *Consciences* of men be *convinced* of the *Light* of it, I judge it cannot properly be said to be the *Light* of their *Consciences*, nor they to sin against the *Light* of their *Consciences*.

3. *Truth.* Yea, and there is a *morall vertue*, a *morall fidelitie*, *abilitie* and *honestie*, which other men (beside *Church-members*) are, by good *nature* and *education*, by good *Lawes* and good *examples* nourished and trained up in, that Civill places of *Trust* and *Credit* need not to be *Monopolized* into the hands of *Church-Members* (who sometimes are not fitted for them) and all others deprived and despoiled of their *naturall* & *Civill Rights* and *Liberties*.

Peace. But what say you (Deare *Truth*) to Mr *Cottons Apologie* for *New England* (for as for *constraint* in *old* he is silent) he sayth he knowes not of any *constraint* upon any to come to *Church*, to pay *Church Duties*, and sayth it is not so in his *Towne*.

Truth. If Mr *Cotton* be *forgetfull*, sure he can hardly be *ignorant* of the *Lawes* and *Penalties* extant in *New England* that are (or if *repeald* have been) against such as absent Themselves from *Church Morning* and *Evening*, and for *Non-payment* of *Church-Duties*, although no Members.

Touching the Maintenance of the new English Ministers.

For a *Freedome* of *Not paying* in his *Towne*, it is to their *commendation* and *Gods praise*, who hath shewed him and others more of his holy *Truth*: Yet who can be ignorant of the *Sessments* upon all in other Townes, of the many *Suits* and *Sentences* in *Courts* (for Non-payment of *Church-Duties*) even against such as are no *Church Members*? Of the *Motions* and *pleadings* of some (not the meanest of their *Ministers*) for *Tithes*? And how ever for my part I beleeve Mr *Cotton* ingeniously willing, that none be forced expresly to pay to his *Maintenance*, yet I question whether he would work if he were not well payd: And I could relate also what is commonly reported abroad, to wit, that the rich *Merchants* and *people* of *Boston* would never give so *freely*, if they were *forced*, yet now they are forced to give for shame (I take it) in the *Publike Congregation*.

The

The *Indians* of this *Countrie* have a Way calld *Nanówwe*, or *Giving* their Commodities *freely*, by which they get better *bargaines*, then if they stood stiffly on their *Tearmes* of *Anaquishento*, or *Trading*: And when not *satisfied* to the *utmost*, they *grudge*, *revile*, &c. It cannot be, but that to such *Deceitfulnesse* of *Heart* Mr *Cotton* is subject as well as others, though *Love* bids me, and others, to hope the best.

Peace. The close of this Chapter seemes *strange* and *wonderfull*, for Mr *Cotton* acknowledged that *Propagation* of *Religion* ought not to be by the *Sword*, and yet instantly againe maintaines he the use of the *Sword* when persons (which then must be judged by the *Civill State*) blaspheme the true *God* and the true *Religion*, and also seduce others to damnable *Heresie* and *Idolatrie*: But this (sayth he) is not the Propagation of *Religion*, but the preserving of it, and if it doe conduce to Propagation, it is onely *Removendo prohibens*.

Of propagating Religion by the Sword.

Truth. What is this *Removendo prohibens*, but as the *weeding* of a *Field* or *Garden*? And every *Husbandman* will say, that the end of such his *work*, is the *propagation* and *increase* of his *graine* and *fruit*, as well as the making of his *fence*, and *planting* and *sowing* of his *Field* or *Garden*: What therefore is this *Confession*, (though with this *Distinction*) but in truth an acknowledgement of what in *Words* and *Tearmes*, he yet denies (with *Hilarie*) to wit, a propagating of *Christian Religion* and *Truth* by the *Civill Sword*?

2. Besides it is the same *hand* and *power* that plucks up the *weedes*, and *plants* the *Corne*, and consequently, that same *hand* and *Sword* that *destroyes* the *Heretick*, may *make* the *Christian*, &c.

Exam: of Chap. 67. *replying to* Chap. 70.

Peace. Concerning *Tertullians* speech, and especially that Branch, to wit, that [By the Law of *naturall equitie*, Men are not to be compelled to any *Religion*, but permitted to *believe* or not *believe* at all] Mr *Cotton* answers, that they doe permit the *Indians*, but it will not therefore be safe to tolerate the *publicke Worship* of *Devills* or *Idolls*. The Discusser replied,

Touching the Indians *of* New-England

that they doe permit the *Indians* in their *Paganiſh Worſhip*, and therefore were partiall to their *Countrymen* and *others*: Mr *Cotton* anſwers; that it is not true, that they doe ſo permit the *Indians*, what ever they may doe privately: That the *Indians* ſubmit to the ten *Commandements*, and that ſome of their *Miniſters* have preached to them in *Engliſh*, which hath been *interpreted*: That one now preacheth in their owne *Language*: Further, That they permit *ſtrangers* in their *Worſhip*. And for their *Countrymen*, for the moſt part that they worſhip *God* with them: They which are diſtant have *Libertie* of *publike prayer* and *preaching*, by ſuch as themſelves chooſe without *diſturbance*.

Truth. Concerning the *Indians*, it is moſt true, that the *Monahigganéucks*, *Miſhawomêucks*, *Pawtucksêucks*, and *Cawſumſéucks* (who profeſſe to ſubmit to the *Engliſh*) continue in their publike *Paganiſh Worſhip* of *Devills*, I ſay *openly* and *conſtantly*.

Peace. Yea but (ſaith Mr *Cotton*) they have ſubmitted to the ten *Commandements*.

Truth. I anſwer; the ten *Commandements* containe a *Renunciation* of all falſe *Gods* and *Worſhips*, and a *Worſhipping* of the true *God*, according to his owne *Inſtitutions* and *Appointments*, which their practice is as farre from, as *Mid-night* is from *Mid-day*.

Worſhipping of God and Chriſt before the foundation of Repentance, is nothing but Antichriſtian diſorder.

2. To put men upon *obſervations* of *Gods Worſhip*, as *Prayer*, &c. before the *Foundations* of *Repentance* from *dead workes* (their *worſhipping* of *Idolls*, &c.) is as farre from the *Order* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, and his *Chriſtian principles* (whereof *Repentance* from *dead workes* is the firſt) as the building of an *Houſe* or *Palace*, without the firſt *Groundſell* or *Foundation* laid.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* therefore ſaith, they *preach* unto them.

Truth. I from my ſoule wiſh that all the *Lords* people in *New England* were *Prophets*, yea true *Apoſtolicall Miniſters* or *Preachers*, truely furniſhed with *Chriſts Abilities*, and *Chriſts Commiſſion*, to goe forth to convert and baptize the *Nations*, even theſe *Wildeſt* of the *Nations* of *Adams* Children: But *Converſion* of *Nations* Mr *Cotton* ſayth (upon *Revel.* 15.) untill the *ſeaven plagues* of the *ſeaven Angells* be fullfilled, will not be great.

This

This *Interpretation* I acknowledge to be very *probable*, so far as concernes any great *Conversion* of the *Nations* before the downfall of *Antichrist*, and in the meane season I commend the pious *Endeavours* of any (professing *Ministery* or not) to doe good to the *Soules* of all Men as We have *opportunitie*. But that any of the *Ministers* spoken of are furnished with true *Apostolicall Commission* (Matth. 28.) I see not for these Reasons.

First, The *Minister* or *Ministers*, whom Mr *Cotton* I conceive intends, professe an ordinarie *Office* in the *Church* of *Christ*, which is cleerely distinct, yea and another thing from the office of an *Apostle*, or one sent forth to *preach* and *baptize*, Ephes. 4. & 1 *Cor.* 12.

Touching preaching to the Indians *in* New-England.

Secondly, Such *Churches* as are invested with the power of *Christ*, and so authoriz'd to send forth, are seperate from the *World*, which many thousands of *Gods* people (dead and living) have seene just Reasons to deny those *Churches* so to be.

Thirdly, Were the *Church* true, and the *Messenger* or *Apostle* rightly sent forth with *prayer* and *fasting*, according to *Act.* 13. yet I believe that none of the *Ministers* of *New England*, nor any person in the whole *Countrey* is able to open the *Mysteries* of *Christ Jesus* in any proprietie of their *speech* or *Language*, without which *proprietie* it cannot be imagined that *Christ Jesus* sent forth his first *Apostles* or *Messengers*, and without which no people in the World are long willing to heare of *difficult* and heavenly matters. That none is so fitted;

First, The *Natives* themselves affirme, as I could instance in many particulars.

Secondly, The *Experience* of the Discusser and of many others testifie how hard it is for any man to attaine a little *proprietie* of their *Language* in common things (so as to escape *Derision* amongst them) in many yeares, without abundance of *conversing* with them, in *Eating*, *travelling* and *lodging* with them, &c. which none of their *Ministers* (other affaires not permitting) ever could doe.

Peace. There being no helpes of *Art* and *learning* amongst them, I see not how without constant *use* or a *Miracle*, any man is able to attaine to any *proprietie* of *speech* amongst them, even in common things. And without *proprietie* (as before) who knowes not how hardly all men (especially *Barbarians*)

Proprietie of Language necessary to the true preaching of Christ Jesus to any people.

are brought to heare *matters* of *Heaven* (so *strange* and contrary to *Nature*) yea, even *matters* of the *Earth*, except profit and other *worldly ends* compell them to spell out Mens *minds* and *meaning?*

Truth. 3. I may truely adde a third, an *Instance* in the booke of their *Conversion*, written by Mr *Tho: Shepheard*, there Mr *Eliot* (the ablest amongst them in the *Indian Speech*) promising an old *Indian* a suit of Cloths, the man (sayth the relation) not well understanding Mr *Eliots* speech, asked another *Indian* what Mr *Eliot* said.

Peace. Me thinks, the *Native* not understanding such a *common* and *wellcome* promise of cloths upon *Gift*, would farre more hardly understand Mr *Eliots* preaching of the *garment* of *Righteousnesse Christ Jesus*, unto which Men mutually turne the deafe Eare, &c.

Truth. Neither you (sweet *Peace*) nor I Expresse thus much to dampe Mr *Eliot* or any from doing all the good they can, whiles opportunitie lasts in any truely *Christian* way, but to shew how great that mistake is, that pretends such a true *preaching* of *Christ Jesus* to them in their owne *Language.*

Peace. But to proceed, in the next *Passage* Mr *Cotton* affirmes their *Impartialitie* in permitting others as well as the *Indians.*

Truth. I answer; it is one thing to connive at a *strange Papist* in private *devotions* on shoare, or in their *vessells* at Anchor, &c. Another thing to permit *Papists*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, &c. the free and constant *Exercise* of their *Religion* and *Worship*, in their respective Orders and Assemblies, were such Inhabitants amongst them.

Peace. Doubtlesse the *bloudie Tenent* cannot permit this *Libertie*, neither to the *Papists*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, &c. nor to the *Indians*, nor doth their *practice* toward their *Countrymen* hould forth a shew of such a *freedome* or *permission.*

Truth. I wonder why Mr *Cotton* writes, that the most part of the *English* worship *God* with them, and the rest absent have *Libertie* to choose their *Preachers!* Since Mr *Cotton* knowes the *Petition* and *Petitions* that have been presented for *Libertie* of *Conscience* in *New England*, and he cannot but also know the *Imprisoning* and *Fining* of some of the *Petitioners*, &c.

Peace.

Peace. It may be Mr *Cotton* will use the *common objection*, that some part of their *Petition* tended to *Disturbance* in Civill Things.

Truth. Some of their *Petitions* were purely for *Libertie* of *Conscience*, which some in *Office*, both in *Church* and *State* favoured, as is reported, if not promoted. If others or some part of them might be judged *offensive* against *Lawes* made, yet why then hath not the *Libertie* of their *Conscience* (in point of *Worship*) been granted to them? When they have complained (amongst other Passages) that they have been forced to stay the *baptizing* of other Mens *children*, while their owne might not be admitted, and therefore earnestly sued for *Ministers* and *Congregations* after their owne free *choice* and *Consciences*, which have ever been denyed to them.

Conscience to God in Worship a close Prisoner in New-England, *and no Petitioner could obtaine its Libertie.*

Peace. It is said, that their *Ministers* being consulted with, utterly denied to yeeld to any such *Libertie*.

Truth. They might justly feare, that if such a *window* were opened (as once Bishop *Gardiner* spake in another case) that the *New English Congregations* and *Churches* would be as thin, as the *Presbyterians* complained theirs to have been, when the people once began to taste the *Freedome* and *Libertie* of their *Consciences*, from the slaves whip, &c.

Peace. In the next *Passage*, the Discusser having excepted against Mr *Cottons* distinguishing betweene Members of the *Church*, and such as have given their names to *Christ*; Mr *Cotton* replies; they are not all one, and quotes, *Esa.* 65. 5, 6.

Truth. Let the place be viewed, and that place will be found to speake of no such *Difference*: It speaks of the *Lords* promise to *Eunuches* and *Strangers*, laying hould on the *Lords Covenant*, and joyning themselves to the *Lord*, which I conceive Mr *Cotton* will not deny to be in a *Church way*; in which *condition* the *Lord* gives the *Eunuches* a name better then of *Sonnes* and *Daughters*.

Publike marriage, or giving ones selfe to Christ.

Peace. In the next *Passage* Mr *Cotton* upon *Tertullians* speech, affirmes, that a false *Religion* will hurt, because the *Red Horse* followes the *White*, &c.

Truth. I answer; *Gods Judgements* (by *Warre*, *Famine*, *Pestilence*) plaguing false *Religions* in his time (though after many hundreth yeares *patience*, as hath formerly been opened) is

one

one thing: and the present *hurting* or *profiting* of *others*, is another.

Peace. In the next place Mr *Cotton* takes *offence* that the Discusser should insinuate Mr *Cotton* to have a hand in the *Modell* of *Church Government.*

Truth. I answer, Mr *Cottons* words in the End of his *Answer* to the *Prisoner*, (where he speakes of this *Treatise* or *Modell*, sent to some of the *Brethren* of *Salem*) seemed to hould out the *probabilitie* of it. How ever Mr *Cotton* subscribeth to the rest of the *Elders*, (as he here sayth) their *words* being rightly understood.

Peace. Further, Mr *Cotton* here affirmes, that the want of a *Law* for *Religion* in any *State* provokes the *Wrath* of *God*, as the want of a *King* in *Israel*, Judg. 21. 25.

Judges 21.25 Considered.

Truth. This *Scripture* proves no more, but that the want of a *King*, *Magistrate*, *Governour*, or *Civill Officer* of *Justice*, provokes the *Wrath* of *God*, and endangereth the people, against which the Discusser never affirmed, but against their *Kingly* or *Civill Authoritie* in *spirituall* cases, since *Christ Jesus* abolished that *Nationall Church.*

Peace. But sayth Mr *Cotton*, the *best Good* of a *Citie* is *Religion*, and therefore there should be a *Law* for it.

Truth. To this I have spoken largely in discussing of that *Modell*, unto which I know not of any *Reply* yet made by *Himselfe*, or any of those worthy men whom he makes the *Authours* of it.

Supreame Authoritie in Spirituals.

Peace. But further, whereas the Discusser had said that the *weedes* of the *Wilderness* will not hurt the *Garden*, nor *poyson* the *Body*, if not suffred to grow in the *Garden*, nor taken into the *Body*, Mr *Cotton* grants that *Christ* hath ordained *Gardiners* for his *Garden*, and *Physick* and *Physicians* for his *Body*: Yet withall he makes the *Civill Officers*, to be as *Supervisors*, *Superintendents*, and consequently, *Bishops*, *Governours*, and *Heads* of the *Church* or *Churches*, and over the *spirituall Officers* of *Christ Jesus.*

Truth. What is this but to establish *Henry* the 8. a *Spirituall Civill Magistrate*, and *Head* of the *Church*, in the roome of the *Pope?* Contrary to which I have discoursed in the discussing of the *Modell* in the bloudie *Tenent.*

Peace.

Peace. But what thinke you of Mr *Cottons* interpretation of *Tertullians* minde, to wit, that *Tertullian* should meane, that the *Christian Religion* would not hurt nor disturbe the *Romane Civill State?*

Truth. I conceive it cannot stand, for although it be true that the *Christian Religion* hurts no *Civill State* (but infinitly the contrary) yet Mr *Cotton* will not deny that the *Christian Religion* (not of it selfe, but through the corruption of the *Civill State*) may provoke a *Civill State* many wayes, and therefore *Tertullian* must meane otherwayes, to wit, every Man must stand or fall in his owne *Religion*, and the *Religion* of one man will neither *hurt* nor *save* another: Therefore (to end this *Passage*) *Tertullians* words may not unfitly be thus applied: The *Religion* of the *Protestants*, if permitted by the *Papists*, will neither hurt nor profit the *Papists*: The *Religion* of the *Independents* will nether hurt nor profit the *Presbyterians*, if they permitted it: And the *Religion* and *Worship* of other *Consciences* in *old* or *New England*, will neither hurt nor profit the *Independents*, where the power of tollerating or not tollerating lies in the *hands* and *power* of the *Independents*.

Tertullians *Speech of one Religion, not hurting or profiting another Considered.*

Exam: of Chap. 68. *replying to* Chap. 71.

Peace. HEre Mr *Cotton* urgeth two mistakes: First in the quoting of *Jerome*: secondly, in naming *Tertullian* for *Jerome*.

Truth. Possible it is, they are neither the mistakes of the *Prisoner*, nor Discusser, but either the *Scribe* or *Printers* may share with them; or if they were their owne *mistakes* (although the *Prisoner* wrote in close prison in *Newgate*, and the Discusser in multitude of *Distractions*, yet) they are justly to be blamed for their least *sleepines* in the handling of the *matters* of the *most High*.

Peace. But, *Jeromes* words (saith Mr *Cotton*) imply more then a *spirituall* cutting off; for *Jerome* immediatly subjoyneth these words! *Arius* was but a *sparke*, but because he was not speedily suppreſt, his *Flame depopulated* all the World, which cannot

cannot be meant (ſayth he) of cutting off by *Excommunication*, which proceeded againſt him once and twice.

Truth. I cannot be eaſily induced to believe that *Jerome* intended to complaine of *Conſtantine*, who was not ſparing at the firſt to put forth his temporall *Arme* and *power* againſt *Arrius*: But this is certaine, his words are theſe, [*Hereſie* muſt be cut off with the Sword of the *Spirit*: and the *Scriptures* quoted by him (1 *Cor.* 5. *Gal.* 5.) as Mr *Cotton* yeeldeth] prove onely a *ſpirituall* cutting off: So that it ſeemes not *rationall* for *Jerome* to run from the *Spirituall Sword*, about which he is now converſant, to the *carnall* and *temporall Sword*, of which thoſe *Scriptures* (as Mr *Cotton* acknowledgeth) diſcourſe not.

Peace. But let no man ſay (ſayth Mr *Cotton*) that this "grant of his [That *Hereſie* muſt be cut off by the Sword of "the *Spirit*] doth imply an abſolute *ſufficiencie* in the Sword "of the *Spirit*, to cut it downe according to 2 *Cor.* 10. 4, 5. "For though *ſpirituall Weapons* be *abſolutely ſufficient* to the *End* "for which *God* hath appointed them, as hath been opened "above, to wit, for the *conviction*, and (if he belong to *God*) "for the *converſion* of the *offendour*, for the *mortifying* of his "*fleſh*, and for the *ſaving* of his *Soule*, and for the *cleanſing* of "the *Church* from the *Fellowſhip* of that *Guilt*: Yet if an *Heretick* will ſtill continue obſtinate, and perſiſt in *ſeducing*, creepe into *Houſes*, leade captive ſillie Soules, and *deſtroy* the *Faith* of ſome, it may be of many, ſuch * *Gangrenes* would be cut off by another *Sword*, which in the hand of the *Magiſtrate* is not borne in vaine.

* Mr Cottons *and* Mr Edwards *Gangrenes have little differd.*

Truth. This anſwer of Mr *Cotton* lookes too too like that *Diſtinction* of the bloudie *Biſhop* againſt the poore *Martyr* or *Witnes* of *Jeſus* (which Mr *Fox* mentioneth) The *Scripture* is ſufficient for *Salvation*, but not for *Inſtruction*: There is need of *Tradition*, &c. The Sword of the *Spirit* (ſayth Mr *Cotton*) is abſolutely ſufficient, for theſe foure, to wit, the *Conviction*, *Converſion*, *Mortification*, and *Salvation* of the *offendour*, the *Heretick*, yea, and for a fifth, for *Expiation*, and *cleanſing* of the *Church* from the *Fellowſhip* of that *Guilt*, but there is a ſixth, to wit, *Infection*, and there the *Sword* of the *Spirit* is too weake, and the Sword of the *Magiſtrate* muſt helpe.

Blaſphemie againſt the holy Scripture.

Peace. What ſound and modeſt Reaſon can be (almoſt) pretended,

pretended, why the holy *Ordinances*, *Appointments* and *provisions* of the *Lord Jesus* (who is the *Wisdome* of the *Father*, whose is all *power* in *Heaven* and in *Earth*, and whose *Heart* is all on *Fire* with *Love* to his people) should be so weake in suppressing the *Enemies* of his *Kingdome*, that, all the *Counsell*, *Order*, and *Power* he hath left in his Absence, are not able to resist the *Infection* of false Doctrine, without the helpe of the *Powers* of the *World* his professed *Enemie*, unto whom who so is a *Friend* (sayth *John*) he cannot but be an *Enemie* unto *God*. Oh what should be the *mysterie* that the two-edged *Sword* of *Gods* mighty *Spirit*, is sufficient for *Conviction*, for *Conversion*, *Mortification*, *Expiation*, *Salvation*, but yet not powerfull enough against *Infection?*

Truth. There is written evidently, on the *Forehead* of this *plea*, as on the forehead of the great *Whore* (Revel. 17.) *Mysterie*. The *Ægyptian Onions* (as I may so speake) are full of *Spirituall Infoldings*, or *Mysteries*: One or two I shall briefly unfold or peele. *Mysteries of false Christs.*

First, the *Clergie* (*sacrilegiously* so called) in all *Ages* since the *Apostasie*, have (like some *proud* and *daintie Servants*) disdain'd to serve a poore despised *Christ*, a *Carpenter*, one that came at last to the *Gallowes*, &c. And therefore have they ever framed to Themselves *rich* and *Lordly*, *pompous* and *Princely*, *temporall* and *Worldly Christs*, in stead of the true *Lord Jesus Christ*, the *spirituall King* of his *Saints* and *people*. And howsoever it suits well the common End to retaine the Name of *Christ* (as the *Lord Jesus* prophesied many false *Christs* should arise, and many should come in his Name, &c.) yet most sure it will be found, that a temporall *Crowne* and *Dignitie*, *Sword* and *Authoritie*, *Wealth* and *Prosperitie*, is the *White* that most of those called *Scholars*, *Ministers*, *Bishops*, aime and levell at: How many thousand of them will readily subscribe to the pleas of the *French Bishops* against the Lord *Peter*, disputing before *Philip* the *French King* for temporall *Jurisdiction*, and *Peters* two *Swords* in the hands of *Christs Ministers?* *The true Christ despised for his povertie.*

Peace. Mr *Cotton* is not far off, for howsoever He and some will say with him, one *Sword* is enough for a *Presbyter* or *Elder*, enough for *Conviction*, *Conversion*, *Mortification*, *Expiation*, and *Salvation*, yet one *Sword* is not enough against *Infection*, and therefore it is needfull (though we are not of the opinion *A base esteeme of the Spirituall Sword.*

of those French *Prelates* and others, that challenged to themselves the *Sword* of *temporall jurisdiction* into their owne hands, yet) it is needfull that it be at our *call* in the hands of our *Executioners* the *Civill Magistrates.*

Earthly Christs need earthly supports.

Truth. It is impossible that *temporal* and *worldly Christs* should walke with the legs of a *spirituall supportment*, but as (in respect of outward *Government*) they spring from the *Earth* and the *World*, it is impossible I say but their *Feeding* and *Aliment*, *Defence* and *Protection* should be of the nature of the *Root* and *Eliment* from whence they arise.

Peace. It is objected, was the *Church* of the *Jewes temporall* that was assisted and protected with a *temporall Sword?*

Truth. The *Spirit* of *God* tels us (*Heb.* 8 & 10.) of a worldly *Sanctuary*, of a *weake* and *old vanishing Covenant*, to wit, a *Nationall Covenant*, and *Ordinances* of a *Jewish Church.*

Peace. It is againe said how can the Discusser extoll the *Sword* of the *Spirit* only, and acknowledge no *Churches.*

The state of Christianity during the reigne of Antichrist.

Truth. Although the Discusser cannot to his *Souls satisfaction* conclude any of the various and severall sorts of *Churches* extant to be those pure *golden Candlesticks* framed after the first patterne, *Rev.* 1. Yet doth he acknowledge *golden Candlesticks* of *Christ Jesus* extant; those golden *Olive trees* and *candlesticks*, his *Martyrs* or *Witnesses*, standing before the *Lord*, and testifying his holy *Truth* during all the *Reign* of the *Beast*, *Rev.* 11. Hence, although we have not *satisfaction* that *Luther* or *Calvin*, or other precious *Witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*, erected *Churches* or *Ministeries*, after the first patterne (as they conceived they did) yet doth he affirm them to have been *Prophets* and *witnesses* against the *Beast*, and furnished sufficiently with *spirituall Fire* in their *mouthes*, mightily able to consume or humble their *Enemies*, as *Eliah* did with the Captains sent out against him.

Peace. I will object no more, please you (*Dear Truth*) to passe on to the 2nd. *viz.* the *Ministry* of the *Spirits* pretended *insufficiency* against *Infection*: why should not the spiritual power of the *Lord Jesus* be powerful enough against *creepers* into *Houses*, against such as lead *captive* silly souls, against such as *destroy* the *faith* of some, &c. as well as in the first *Churches* and *Assemblies*, professing his holy *name* and *worship?*

Truth. Search his *Will* and *Testament*, and we find no other

but

but *spiritual* means prescribed and bequeathed by the *Lord Jesus*, to *Paul* to *Peter*, or any of the holy *Apostles* or *Messengers*.

Peace. I must needs acknowledge that the poor servants of *Christ*, for some hundereth of years after the departure of the *Lord* enjoyed no other power, no other *Sword* nor *Shield*, but *spirituall*, until it pleased the *Lord* to try his *children* with *Liberty* and *ease* under *Constantine* (a soarer *Tryall* then befell them in 300 years persecution) under which *temporall protection*, *munificence* and *bounty* of *Constantine*, together with his *temporall Sword*, drawne out against her *spirituall enemies*, the *Church of Christ* soon surfeited of the too much *honey* of worldly ease, *authority*, *profit*, *pleasure*, *&c.*

Constantines peace a greater tryal and danger to Christians, then 300 years persecution.

Truth. Deare Peace, the second *mistery* is this. In all ages, the world hath been o'respread with the *delusions* and *abominations* of *false worship*, invented by *Sathan* and his *Instruments* in opposition to the pure *worship* of the *God of Heaven*: Against these the *Lord Jesus* hath not been wanting to stir up his *witnesses*, *servants* and *souldiers*, fighting for their *Lord* and *Master* spiritually, &c..

Sathans two wayes of quenching the Candle of Christianity.

These *witnesses*, when *Sathan* hath not been able to vanquish and overcome them by *disputing*, *writing*, *&c.* (but hath ever lost that way) he hath been forced to run to the fleshly *Armories* of temporall *weapons* and *punishments*, and to fetch in the powers of the world; So hoping to dash out the Candle of *Truth* and break the *candlesticks* thereof the *witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*: This *Sathan* hath ever practised one of these two wayes, sometimes by (pretended) legall tryals and *executions* of *Justice*, sometimes by most horrid and dreadfull *murthers* and *massacres*

Peace. Thus hath *Christ Jesus* indeed been vanquished, and driven out of this world by the powers of *Cæsars*, *Kings* and other earthly *Governours* and *Rulers*.

Truth. 'Tis a fresh and bleeding *History* of that famous *disputation* between the *Cardinal* and *Prelates* of *France* and *Beza* with his *protestant assistants* under *Charles* the 9th. And not long after of that most barbarous and horrible *murther* and *massacre* of about 30000 Innocents, to finish and compleat that *victory* which the pretended *Disputation* and spirituall arme could never effect.

The French Massacre must doe what their pretended disputation could not effect.

Pretended disputes in Q. Maries days, ending in fiery flames.

Peace. Yea in the bloody *Marian* dayes, there must be *Convocations* cald at *London*, and downe must these famous *witnesses* of *Jesus*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer* to dispute at *Oxford* but faithfull *Philpot* for his free disputing in the *Convocation* at *London*, and *Cranmer*, *Latimer* and *Ridley* for not yeelding away the truth at *Oxford*, they must all feel the rage of the *fiery furnace*, who bow not downe to the *golden Image*.

The late Synodicall disputes.

And (without offence of *civill Authority*, or disrespect against any mans person be it spoken) in the late great *disputes* between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* at *VVestminster*; what a *Tempest* raised, what *Earthquakes* and *Thunders* cal'd for, from *Earth* and *Heaven*, ihat the second *sword* of the *magistrate* (herein the *Presbiterians Servant* and *Executioner*) might effect that which all the *power* of the *pretended sword* of *Gods Spirit* was never able to reach to.

A bloody and most unchristian speech.

Pea. To proceed, M *Cot.* is greatly offended at this *word:* to wit [the *Eye* of the *Answerer* could never be so obscured, as to run to the *Smiths-shop* for a *sword* of *Iron*, and *steel* to help the *Sword*, of the *Spirit*; if the *Sun* of *Ryghteousnes* had pleased to shew him that a *Nationall Church*, *&c.*] And his anger breaths forth, first against all *Hereticks* thus: If there be *stones* of the *streets*, the *Magistrate* need not run for a *Sword* from the *Smiths shop*, nor an *Halter* from the *Ropiers* to punish an *Heretick*.

Truth. It is true, the *warehouse* of *persecution* is so abundantly filled with all sorts of bloody *Instruments*, besides *Swords* and *Ropes*, that the *Primitive* and *Latter* times have told us how many severall sorts of *sorrows*, *pains* and *torments* the servants of the living *God*, have felt by severall *Instruments* of *Blood* and *Death*, besides *Ropes* and *Swords*, *&c.* and all to punish (as *Master Cotton* sayth) the *Heretick*, the *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer* *&c.*

Peace. What is this Anger but Fury, *Ira furor brevis est?* And what weapons can be wanting to *Fury*, not the *stones* in the *streets* (saith Master *Cotton*) *Furor arma ministrat*, for the *magistrate* needs not (saith he) stay so long as to run to a *Smiths-shop* for a *sword*, or to the *Ropiers* for a *halter*, &c.

Peace. O the *mysteries* of *iniquitie* and *cozenage* of sin, that a *Lambe* of *Christ* should thus roar out like a *Lyon*, and (as the speech may be construed by some) so far as in him lies to provoke

voke the *civill powers*, yea the people in the ſtreets to furious outrage, and not ſo much as to attend proceedings in pretended legal Trials and executions, but in the madneſſe of *Barbarous murthers* and *maſſacres*, and that even upon himſelfe and the Independants in their meetings, &c.

The raſh fury and madneſſe of perſecutors even againſt themſelves.

Peace. But 2dly. he finds fault with the Diſcuſſers wit, for bringing ſuch light *conceits* into grave *diſcourſes* and *diſputes* about the holy things of *God*.

Truth. If there be any thing ſavouring of wit in the Diſcuſſors ſpeech, let all men judge whether there be not a *double*, yea a *treble* portion in this of Maſter *Cottons*; I acknowledge, *Non eſt major confuſio quam ſerij & Joci.* The Diſcuſſor dares not willingly to prophane the holy name of the *moſt high* with *lightnes*, no not with thoſe fine turnings of wit which the *word* forbids, (ἐυτραπελία, *Epheſ.* 5.) which becomes not *Chriſts ſchollars*, but rather the *giving* of *thanks*: And yet there is an holy wit and pleaſantnes in *Samſons Riddle*, in *Jothams* and *Jeſus* his *Parables*, yea, and in *Eliah* his ſharpe and cutting *language*, which cut as deep to their deluding conſciences, as the *Knives* and *Lances* of their *Idolatrous backs* and *bodies*: Yet none of theſe were (as Maſt. *Cotton* inſinuates againſt the Diſcuſſer) for naming of *Smithsſhop*) playings with *feathers*, *&c.*

Pleaſantneſſe of wit ſanctified, glorifies the giver.

Peace. But what think you of his confidence, touching his *New-England Diana*, to wit, that the Diſcuſſer will never be able to make it good: that the Church in *New-England* is implicitly, a *Nationall* and *State Church?*

Truth. His own words ſeem to prove it, for if it be a *Church* and not *Churches* of *N. England*, as elſewhere he ſpeaks (and as the Scripture ordinarily ſpeaks, the Churches of *Judea*, *Galatia*, *&c.*) it cannot be no other but a *Nationall*, as the *Engliſh-Church*, *Scotch-Church*, *French-Church*, *&c.* But poſſibly it being a miſtake, I anſwer, A *Nation* in the common and large extent, I dare not call *New-England*, but thus, the ſeverall *Plantations* or *Colonies* of one *Religion*, or way of *worſhip* make up one *Colonie* or *Province* of *Engliſh-men* in this part or tract of *America*. I cannot therefore call the *Church* of *New-England* (properly) a *Nationall Church*, but a *Provinciall Church*, a *State-Church*; caſt into the mould of a *Nationall Church*, diſtinct into ſo many *Pariſhes*, I ſay not expreſly and explicitly, but implicitly and ſecretly:

The pretended particular Churches of *N. E.* indeed but a Nationall Church.

cretly, which the *son* of *righteousnesse* will at last reveal, as clearly and brightly in the eyes of all men, as the *sun* that shines at *Noon-day*.

At present, I affirm (what ever are the *pretences*, *pleas* and *coverings* to the contrary) that that *Church estate*, that *religion* and *worship* wch is *commanded* or *permitted* to be but one in a *country*, *nation* or *province* (as was the *Jews religion* in that typical land of *Canan*) that *Church* is not in the *nature* of the particular *Churches* of *Christ*, but in the *nature* of a *Nationall* or *state Church*: the nature of a particular *Church* of *Christ*, is to be one, 2 or 3 (more or lesse) in *Townes* or *Cities* (as in all the instances of the *New-Testament*, but the nature of the State *Church* is when the whole State is turn'd into a State *Church* in so many *Parishes* or *Divisions* of *worshippers*: and it is made odious & intolerable for any part of this *City*, *state*, *&ce.* not to attend the *common worship* of the *City*, sanctifie the holy *times*, and contribute to the holy *Officers*, and to walke in another way, which is the generall state and practise of *New-England*.

No permission of any Religion or worship but one in *N.E.* therefore are the Churches, but a Nationall Church in the mould of them, &c.

2 That is a *nationall* and *state Church* where the *Civill power* is constituted the *Head* thereof, to see to the *conforming* or *reforming* of the *Church*, the *truth* or *falshood* of the *Churches*, *Ministries* or *ministrations*, *ordinances*, *Doctrine*, *&c.*

Where the Supream Authority in a Church is Civill, the Body cannot but be like the head, and all make up but one Civil or Nationall mixt Church, like the Jewish Nationall Church.

In the particular *Churches* of *Christ Jesus*, wee finde not a tittle of the power of the *civill magistrate* or *civill sword* in *spirituall cases*. It is impossible but a *Nationall* and *Civil head* must be *head* of a *Nationall* or *State Church*, which (upon the point is but a *civill* or *temporall Church* (like the *head* thereof) and not a *heavenly* and *spirituall*: I say, a *Civil* or *temporall Church*, subject to the *changes* of a *changeable Court* or *Countrey*, and the *interpretings* and *expoundings* of *Scripture*, to what the *Court* or *Countrey* is subject to approve ot disprove of.

The purging a Countrey of Hereticks declares that Countrey is explicitly or implicitly a National Church.

3 It is a *Nationall* or *State Church*, where the opposite or *gain-sayer*, the pretended *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer*, *&c.* is some way or other punished, put forth of the *State* or *Countrey* it selfe by *death* or *banishment*: whereas *particular Churches* put forth no further then from their *particular societies*, and the *Heretick*, *&c.* may still live in the *Countrey* or *Countreys* unmolested by them.

4 That Church cannot be otherwise then a *National* or *State*

State Church, where the maintenance of the *Worship*, *Priests* and *Officers*, is a *State maintenance*, provided by the care and power of the *State*, who (upon the point) payes their *Ministers* or *Servants* their *wages*; whereas the *maintenance* of the *Worship* and *Officers* of a *particular Church*, we finde by *Christs Testament* to be cared for sufficiently by *Christs power*, and meanes in his *Church*.

A State Maintenance proveth a State Church.

5 That *Church* is a *Nationall* or *State Church*, whose whole Assemblies, in *Synods*, *Councells*, *Provinciall*, *Nationall*, &c. If Mr *Cotton* can disprove the truth and substance of these and other *particulars* alledged, so farre as concernes the *generall* and *Body* of the *Countrey* combined (whatsoever little *variation* some particular Townes may make) the Discusser must acknowledge his *Errour*, but if Mr *Cotton* cannot doe it, as I believe he cannot (what ever flourish a wit may pretend) the *God* of *mercy* pardon what by Mr *Cotton* is done in Ignorance, and awaken *him* and *others*, who cause his people to goe astray; according to that of the Prophet; Their *Shepheards* cause this people to goe astray.

Synods assembled by Civill Power, prove the Churches of the same Nature with the Head that calls and calls them.

Peace. O that all *Gods sheepe* in *New England*, and such as judge themselves their *Shepheards*, may truely judge themselves at the *tribunall* of their *owne Consciences* in the *presence* of the *Lord*, in the *upright Examination* of these *particulars*: But to leave *New England*, and to returne to the Land of *Israel*: I "should thinke (sayth Mr *Cotton*) not onely mine eye obscu-"red, but the sight of it utterly put out, if I should conceive "(as the Discusser doth) that the *Nationall Church State* of the "*Jewes* did necessarily call for such *weapons* to punish *Here-"tiques* more then the *Congregationall State* of *particular Chur-"ches* doth call for the same now in the dayes of the *New* "*Testament*."

Truth. It is a *strange Speech* to proceede from so *knowing* a Man, but let us ponder his *Reasons* in the feare of *God*.

Peace. Was not (sayth Mr *Cotton*) the *Nationall Church* of the *Jewes* compleatly furnished with *Spirituall Armour* to defend it selfe, and oppose *Men* and *Devills*, as well as *particular Churches* of the *New Testament*? Had they not power to convince false *Prophets*, as *Elijah* did the Prophets of *Baal*? had they not power to seperate *Evill Doers* from the *Fellowship* of

their

their *Congregations?* And he addeth, an *uncleane Person*, although he might not Enter into the *Temple*, with the rest of the *Israelites* to *worship* the *Lord*, yet he was permitted to live in the *Common-weale* of *Israel*, Men *uncircumcised* both in *Heart* and *Flesh*.

Touching the difference between the Church of the Jewes *and the Christian Churches.*

He addeth further, that the *Nationall Church* of *Israel* was powerfully able by the *Sword* of the *Spirit* to defend it selfe, and to offend *Men* and *Devills*, for which he quoteth, *Zach.* 4. 6. And he asketh, doth not the Discusser himselfe observe that time was, in the *Nationall Church* of the *Land* of *Canaan*, when there was neither *Carnall Sword* nor *Speare* to be found, 1 *Sam.* 13? And was not then the *Nationall Church* powerfully able by the *Spirit* of *God* to defend it selfe, and to offend *Men* and *Devills* as well as particular *Churches* now?

Truth. I answer: First, As much as the *shadow* of a Man falls short of a *Man* himselfe, so did all their *Ordinances* (which were but *shadowes* of *spirituall things* to come) fall short of that bright enjoyment of *Christ Jesus*, and *spirituall* and *heavenly things* in him, now brought to Light by *Christ Jesus* in the *Gospel* or *New Testament*.

2. Mr *Cotton* will never demonstrate that the putting forth, or Excommunicating of a person from the *Church* of *God* amongst them, was other then *cutting* off from the Land by *Death*, and the *Civill Sword*, the same being *spiritually* executed now in the *Israel* of *God*, 1 Cor. 5. Gal. 5. 12.

The holy Land of Canaan *a* Nonesuch.

A Figure of the Christian.

Thirdly, Although the *Stranger* uncircumcised might live amongst them, yet none of the *Native Israelites* might so live, nor yet might the *Stranger prophane* the *holinesse* of the *Lord* by *labour* on the *Sabbath*, which Mr *Cotton* will never prove ought now to be kept by all *Countries* of the *world*, and that under such *Penalties*, as was in the Land of *Canaan*, the *holy Land*: Nor that they had *spirituall power* sufficient to punish the willfull breach of any *Morall* or *Ceremoniall* dutie, without the helpe of the *Carnall Sword*, the contrary to which is plaine in the *New Testament*, 1 Cor. 5. 2 Cor. 10.

Fourthly, For the Scripture, *Zach.* 4. 6. Not by *might* nor *Power*, &c. The *Prophet* doth not here oppose the *Spirit* to *might* or *power*, so as to deny the use of *Carnall weapons*, *might* or *power*, which God had vouchsafed to them against all *Enemies*

mies within and without, but sheweth it to be the work of *Gods* own *finger* or *Spirit* in the use of *carnall meanes* which they used for the raising of the *Materiall Temple* and *Civill defence* of Themselves against all *Opposers*, *Hinderers*, &c. Whereas 2 *Cor.* 10. the *Apostle* flatly opposeth *Spirituall Weapons* against *Carnall*, and Mr *Cotton* will never prove that the *Corinthians* or any of the *Saints of Christ*, did enjoy other *Weapons*, in that *first* or the *Ages* next after, but onely the *Spirituall Weapons* and *Artillery* which the *Apostle* mentioneth.

The weapons of the *Jewes* and *Christians* compared.

Lastly, To that of 1 *Sam.* 13. I answer, That when there was no *Speare* nor *Sword* in *Israell*, the *Israelites* were not powerfully able to defend Themselves against their *Enemies*, except that *God* was pleased *extraordinarily* to stirre up meanes of their *preservation*, as wee see in the case of *Jonathan* and his *Armour-bearer* against the *Philistims*. In like manner I believe that where the ordinary power of *Gods* hand in his holy *Ordinances* is withdrawen, it is his *extraordinarie* and immediate *power* that preserveth and supporteth his people against *Men* and *Devills*; as in particular, during the *reigne* of *Antichrist* in stirring up and supporting the two *Witnesses*.

No Speare nor Sword in *Israel*.

Exam: of Chap. *69. replying to* Chap. *72.*

Touching the Testimony of *Brentius*.

Peace. IT is untrue, sayth Mr *Cotton*, that we *restraine* Men from *Worship* according to *Conscience*, or *constraine* them to *Worship* against *Conscience*, or that such is my *Tenent* or *practice*.

Truth. Notwithstanding Mr *Cottons* cloake, to wit, that they will not meddle with the *Heretick* before he hath sinned against his owne *Conscience*, and so persecute him onely for sinning against his *owne Conscience*, yet I earnestly beseech every Reader seriously to ponder the whole *streame* and *series* of Mr *Cottons Discourse*, *Propositions*, *Affirmations*, &c. through the whole booke, and he shall then be able to judge whether it be untrue that his *Doctrine* tends not to *constraine*, nor *restraine Conscience*.

2. For the matter of fact, how can he with any *Humilitie* before the *flaming eyes* of the most *High*, cry out, no such *practice*, when

New-England loath to be accounted persecutours.

First, Their *Lawes* cry out a *Command* under *Penaltie* for all to come to *Church*, though not to be *Members*, which in truth (as hath been opened) is but a *colour* and *visard*, deceiving himselfe and others: And a *cruell Law* is yet extant against *Christ Jesus*, muffled up under the *hood* or *vaile* of a Law against *Anabaptistrie*, &c.

Secondly, Their *practice* cryes, their *Imprisonments*, *Finings*, *Whippings*, *Banishments* cry in the Eares of the *Lord* of *Hosts*, and the louder because of such *unchristian figleave*, *cloakes*, *&c.*

Peace. Let it be granted (sayth Mr *Cotton*) that we did both, yet this did not make *Lawes* to binde *Conscience*, but the *outward* man onely! Nor would we (sayth he) think it fit to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*.

Truth. I cannot discerne the *Coherence* of these three Affirmations: 1. We *restraine* no man from *Worship* according to *Conscience*. 2. We make *Lawes* but to binde the *outward* man onely. And yet againe (3) we thinke not meete to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*. Mr *Cotton* lived once under a *Popish Law*, to weare a *fooles Coat* or *Surplice* on his back, and to make a *Conjuring Crosse* with his Fingers, why should he say, that this Law went beyond his *back* and his *fingers*, and came even to his *Conscience?* If these pettie *bonds* did binde his *Conscience*, as well as his *back* and his *fingers*; Oh let not Mr *Cotton* so farre put off the Bowells of *Compassion* toward *Christ Jesus* and his *Followers*, yea toward all men, as to binde their *backs*, and their *Necks*, their *Knees* and *Hands backward* and *forward*, to or from *Worship*, and yet say he binds but the *outward man*, &c.

Lawes concerning Gods Worship.

Dangerous distinctions.

Yea and oh let not such *uprightnes*, *candor*, and *Integritie*, as Mr *Cotton* hath been noted for, be blemished with such an *Evasion* as this, to wit, when it comes to selfe, that *Conscience* his owne or his *Friends* be offred to be bound, &c. then he shall flie to his third *Evasion*, saying, We think it not meete to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*, that is, against our *Consciences*, &c. What ever becomes (sinck or swim) of other Mens.

Peace.

Peace. In the next Passage, *God* needs not (sayth Mr *Cotton*) the helpe of the *Magistrate* more in the *Second*, then in the first *Table*.

Truth. *God* needeth not *absolutely* for the matters of the *Second Table*, though *respectively*, because he hath appointed *Ordinances*, unto which he hath graciously referd himselfe. But for the *first Table*, he hath no neede at all, of *carnall weapons*, no not *respectively*, because he hath appointed *Ordinances* to thousandfold more *potent*, *suitable* and *sufficient*. Touching keeping of both Tables.

Peace. Whereas it was urged, that if *Magistrates* must use their *materiall Sword* in keeping of both *Tables*, they must be able to judge of both: Mr *Cotton* replies, that it is enough, that they be able to judge in *Principles* and *Foundations*, and of the *Arrogancie* of a *tumultuous Spirit*; for such want not *Judgement* to censure *Apostasie* or *Heresie*, *Idolatrie*, &c. Of Magistrates Judgement in Spirituals, &c.

Truth. It is not like that a *Carpenter* who hath skill sufficient to judge the *Principles* and *Foundations* of a *house* or *Building*, should be unable to judge about the *Beames*, *Posts*, &c.

2. With what great darknes, have the best of *Gods children* themselves been covered these many hundreth yeares, touching the very *Fundamentalls* of *Gods Worship!*

Peace. Whereas it was said further, that either they are not fitly qualified *Magistrates* and *Common-weales*, that want this *abilitie* to *judge*, &c. Or else they must judge according to their *Conscience!* Mr *Cotton* replyes; *Many Qualifications* are required in *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Children*, *Servants*, *Ministers*, *Churches*, the want whereof may make them *sinfull*, but not *unlawfull*. Of Qualifications of Magistrates.

Truth. I answer; some *Relations* are *Passive*, as that of children, who may be true and lawfull *children*, although they know not that they are *children*. But, such *Relations* as are *active* in their *choice* and *consent*, as of *Husband*, *Wife*, *Magistrate*, &c. these cannot be *lawfull*, unles they be fitted and *qualified* to performe the *maine* and *essentiall* duties of *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Servants*, *Magistrates*. That *Husband*, *Wife*, *Servant* cannot be lawfull, that are engaged to other *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Masters*: Nor can that *Magistrate* be *lawfull*, who is a *mad-man* or *Ideot*, not able to discerne between *Right* and *Wrong*: and truely (were *Magistrates* bound, as to the *chiefe part* of their *Dutie* and *Office*) to establish the true *Religion*, &c. he were no more then

a mad-man (as to the first Table) that were not spiritually indued with ability of discerning the true *Church, Ministry, Worship, &c.*

Of Magistrates Abilities.

Peace. Now whereas it was further urged that then the *Common-weale*, the Civil, Naturall state, hath more Light concerning the *Church* of *Christ* then the *Church* it self, *&c.* Master *Cotton* replies, it followes not, because that is a weak *Church* that knowes no more light then that of the Principles; and beside; what light the *Common-wealth* hath it may have received from the *Church*.

Truth. I answer, If *Kings* and *Queens, &c.* be nurcing *Fathers* and *Mothers* (in a spiritual respect) over the *Church*, as is usually alleadged; can it be expected but that the *Nurse*, *Father* or *Physician* should know more of the *Childs state* then the Child or Patient himselfe, who oftentimes knows not his sicknesse, nor that he is sick, (as oft may be the case of a *Church* of *Christ*) It is impossible, but they must have more light then the Child, yea and much more impossible that they should receive their Light and direction from the Child, &c.

Peace. We see, saith Master *Cotton*, that *Magistrates* sometimes have more *Light* in *matters* of *Religion* then the *Church* it self, as *David* and *Hezekiah*.

Truth. This (1) confirmes what I said, that these *Kings* being appointed by *God*, *Formers* and *Reformers* of the *Church* of *Judah*, they must needs have more *light* in the matter of *Reformation* then the *Church* it selfe to be reformed.

David and *Hezekiah* figurative Kings, &c.

2 I must deny that *David* and *Hezekiah* were other then types of *Christ Jesus*, both in his owne person and in such, who in his absence are by him deputed to manage the *spirituall* power and sword of his holy and spirituall Kingdome.

Peace. Yea, but alas, saith Master *Cotton*, there is no colour, that because *Magistrates* are bound to discerne and serve *Christ* with their power, that therefore they may punish *Christ* and *Christians*.

Truth. True, therefore, Master *Cotton* elsewhere saith, they must suspend to deal in *Church matters* untill they can judge, &c.

And this, First implies their *light* and *judgement* (absolutely necessary) in all such matters of the *Church*, about which they are to Judge and act as often I affirme.

2 I

2 I aske what kind of *spirituall Physicians* will Master *Cotton* have, who shall be bound to suspend their *power*, all their lives long, unlesse they have skill to judge of *Diseases?* will not the similitude hold against such spirituall *Fathers*, *Nurses*, *Physicians*, who all their life long (yea the greatest number beyond compare of all their spirituall *Fathers* upon the face of the Earth) must wholly suspend from acting in spirituall diseases or cases, to wit, in reforming, establishing, &c.

Magistrates suspending in matters of Religion.

3 Although it excuseth not ('tis true) such *Magistates*, *Princes Common-wealths*, for making this *Doctrine* their ground of persecuting *Christ* and *Christians*, yet doubtlesse it makes their sin the greater who feed them with such bloody *Doctrines*, and so consequently occasion them upon the rocks of such false and dangerous and *bloudy practices*.

Exam: of Chap. 70. *replying to* Chap. 73.

Peace. IN this Chap. (*Dear Truth*) lye many *stones* of *offence*, at which the feet of the unwary most easily may stumble; I hope your carefull and steady hand may be a blessed *Instrument* of their *Removall*: As First, although Master *Cotton* subscribe unto *Luther* that the *Government* of the *Civill Magistrate* doth extend no further, then over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the subject, yet (saith he) he may and ought to improve that power over their *Bodies* and *Goods* to the good of their *Souls*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace* my hand (the hand of *Christ* assisting) shall not be wanting: but what offence can be taken at the propositions?

Pea. The proposition like an aple of *Sodom*, is fair and specious untill you crush it by examination: For, by maintaining the *Magistrates* power over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the subject, for the good of his *Soul*, it is clear in this Chapter and others foregoing and following, that Master *Cottons* words drive at no lesse then a seising upon, and *plundering* of the goods, the *Imprisoning*, *whipping*, *Banishing* and *killing* the *Bodies*, of the poor people, and this under the Cloak and colour of saving their *Souls* in the day of the *Lord Jesus*.

Wofull *Soul-saving.*

Truth. The *Civil State*, and *Common-weal* may be compared to a piece

a peice of Tapiſtry, or rich Arras, made up of the ſeverall parts and parcels of the Families thereof. Now by the *Law* of *God*, *Nature* and *Nations*. a Father hath a power over his Child, the Husband over the Wife, the Maſter over, &c. and doubtleſſe they are to improve that power and *Authority* for the good of the *ſouls* of their Children, Yoak-fellows, &c. But ſhall we therefore ſay that the Father and the Husband hath power under *Chriſt* over the *conſcienies* and *religion* of the Child or Wife, as a Father or Husband had under *Moſes Numb.* 30. Parents are commanded in the *Goſpel* to bring up their *Children* in the inſtruction and fear of the *Lord*; the *Husband* is commanded to labour to win and ſave his *Wife* (with no other power then the Wife alſo her Husband) whether *Turke* or *Jew*, *Antichriſtian* or *Pagan*: but ſuch a *power* and *ſword* to be improved (as Mr. *Cotton* here pretends) for *ſoul-good*, Maſter *Cotton* will never finde in the Teſtament of *Chriſt Jeſus*.

The power of Parents, Huſbands, Magiſtrates in ſpirituals.

1 Cor. 7.

The *Plain Engliſh* is (what ever be the Cloak or cover which the *States*, *Kings* and *Rulers* of this world uſe in this caſe) this terme [for *ſouls good*] is no more then the old Popiſh *Jeſabels* painting, *pro ſalute animæ*, *pro redemptione animæ*, or as that noble St. *John* obſerved in a ſpeech at *Guild-hall*, that the *Kings* party made uſe of the name of *Peace*, as the *Papiſts* uſed the name of *God*, *In nomine Domini*, *&c.*

The tearme [*Souls-good*] commonly but a paint, &c.

Peace. It is moſt lamentable to ſee how the *Kings* of the Earth are groſly flattered by their *Clergy*, into as groſſe a belief that they are moſt *Catholick Kings* as in *Spain*, moſt *Chriſtian Kings* as in *France*, *Defendors* of the *Faith* in *England*. Hence thoſe two bloody *Perſecutors* of *Luther*, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth, were celebrated even upon the poſts of the doors in *Guild-Hall*: *Carolus*, *Henricus vivant*, *defenſor uturque*, *Henricus Fidei*, *Carolus Eccleſiæ*.

Peace. And yet to what other end have or doe (ordinarily) the *Kings* of the *Earth* uſe their *power* and *authority* over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of their Subjects, but for the filling of their *paunches* like *Wolves* or *Lions*, never pacified unleſſe the peoples *bodies*, *goods* and *Souls* be ſacrificed to their *God-belly*, and their owne *Gods* of *profit*, *honour*, *pleaſure*, *&c.*

Peace. But in the ſecond place Maſter *Cotton* affirmes, that by procuring the good of their *ſouls*, they may much advance the

the good of their *bodies* and outward man also.

Truth. This *Proposition* is as fair as the former, but in the *searching* and *crushing* is as *rotten*, for however it is most true (as he quoteth 1 *Tim.* 4.) that *Godlinesse* hath the promise of this *Life*, and of a *better*, and also that such as seek first the *Kingdome* of *God*, may expect outward mercies to be cast upon them, yet these promises can never by any rule of *Christ*, be stretched to proue outward prosperity and flourishing to the followers of *Christ Jesus* in this present evill world.

The promises of temporall mercies considered.

Peace. He that is in a pleasant *Bed* and *Dreame*, though he talke idly and insensibly, yet is loath to be awaked.

Truth. Those sweet promises supply *Gods servants* with what outward blessings his holy Wisdome seeth they have need of for his service: But when wil Master *Cotton* indeed witnesse against a *Nationall Church*, and cease to mingle *Heaven* and *Earth*, the *Church* and *worldly state* together? when will he cease to propose the rich and peaceable, victorious and flourishing Nationall State of the *Jewes* as the Type of the Carnall peace and worldly wealth and honour of the spirituall Nation and Kingdome of *Christ Jesus?* when will he more plainely and simply conforme the members to the head *Christ Jesus* in the *Holinesse*, *Glory* of his *spirituall poverty*, *shame* and *sufferings?*

Peace. I have in the experience of many Ages observed the flourishing prosperity of many *Cities*, *Common wealths* and *Nations*, where no sound of *Christ* hath come, and that for hundreths, yea, some thousands of years together, as hath formerin this discourse been instanced.

Truth. You have found that when the *Red* and *Black* and *Pale* horse of *War*, *Famine* and *Death* have thundered upon the *Nations*, it hath not been upon the decay of a *State Religion*, but most commonly upon the *rejecting* and *persecuting* of the *Preachers* and *Witnesses* against it.

Peace. Yea Master *Cotton* himselfe observeth that such of *Gods servants* as grow fattest in *Godlinesse*, grow not outwardly in *wealth*, but *God* keepeth them low in *outward estate*.

Truth. I conclude this passage with an observation of constant *experience*, ever since the *Son* of *God* ascended the *Heauens*. The neerer *Christs* followers have approached to worldly wealth, ease, liberty, honour, pleasure, &c. the neerer they have

Worldly prosperity ever dangerous to Gods children.

have approached to *Impatience*, *Pride*, *Anger* and *Violence* against such as are opposite to their *Doctrine* and *Profession* of *Religion*: And (2) The further and further have they departed from *God*, from his *Truth*, from the *Simplicitie*, *Power* and *Puritie* of *Christ Jesus* and true *Christianitie*.

Peace. In the next Passage Mr *Cotton* (though with another heart, yet) in the *Language* and *Tongue* of the *Pharisees*, seemes to take part with the *Prophets* against the persecuting *Fathers*, and amongst many things he prohibites *Magistrates* this one, to wit, that he must not make *Lawes* to binde *Conscience*.

Of Lawes binding Conscience.

Truth. What is a *Law*, but a *binding Word*, a *Commandement*? What is a *Law* to binde *Conscience*, but a *Commandement* that calls for *Obedience*? And must wee raise up such *Tumults*, such *Tragedies*, and fill the *face* of the *World* with *streames* of *bloud*, about the *Christian Magistrates reforming Religion*, *establishing Religion*, killing the *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Seducer*, and yet all this without a *Law*, that may in the name of *Christ* exact obedience?

Peace. I wonder what we shall thinke of those *Lawes* and *Statutes* of *Parliament*, in *old* or *New England* that have bound the peoples *Consciences*, at least so farre, as to come to the *Parish Church*, improving (as Mr *Cotton* sayth) the *power* and *Authoritie* over their *Bodies*, for their *Soules good*? What shall wee call all those *Lawes*, *Commandements*, *Statutes*, *Injunctions*, *Directions*, and *Orders*, that concerne *Religion* and *Conscience*?

Truth. The plaine truth is, Mr *Cottons* former *reforming zeale*, cannot be so utterly extinguished, as to forget the *name* and *Notion* of *Christian Libertie*, although in this bloudie *Discourse*, he hath well nigh, (if not wholly) *sold away* the Thing! The *Conscience* (sayth he) must not be bound to a *Ceremonie* (to a pretended *indifferent Ceremonie*): And yet loe, throughout this Discourse, he pleades for the binding of it from these and these *Doctrines*, from these and these *Worships*, and binding to this or that *Worship*, I meane, to come to the publike *Towne* or *Countrey Worship*! Just for all the world, as if a Woman should not be bound to make a *Curtsie*, or *Salutation* to such a Man, but yet shee should be bound (will she nill she) to come to his *bed* at his pleasure. *Worship* is a true or false *Bed*, *Cant.* 1. 16.

Peace. It is observable in the next place, what Mr *Cotton* observeth,

obſerveth, concerning the *Principles* of *ſaving Truth*, to wit, that no good *Chriſtian*, much leſſe good *Magiſtrate* can be ignorant of them.

Truth. In the Conſideration of the *Modell*, this *Goodneſſe* or *Badnes* of the *Magiſtrate* is Examined, and eaſily it is proved (to my underſtanding) that this Aſſertion confounding the nature of *Civill* and *Morall goodneſſe* with *Religious*, is as farre from *Goodnes* as *Darknes* is from *Light*.

Peace. To this Iſſue tends Mr *Cottons* Concluſion of this paſſage [verily the *Lord* will build up and eſtabliſh the *Houſe* and *Kingdome* of ſuch *Princes*, as doe thus build up his.]

Truth. The promiſe of *God* to *David* concerning his *Houſe* and *Kingdome* in the *Letter*, is moſt true in the *Myſtery* and *Antitype*, as to the *Spirituall Houſe* and *Kingdome* of King *David*, King *Jeſus*, in ſuch *Princes* or *Propheticall* Kingly *Spirits*, who *Spiritually*, in the Word of *Propheſie* (the *Sword* of *Gods Spirit*) contend, for the *Spirituall Kingdome* of *Chriſt Jeſus*: *God* will eſtabliſh them in *Spirituall Dignitie* and *Authoritie*: But take this literally (as Mr *Cotton* carries it) and as he never will finde any ſuch Dutie lying upon *Princes* in the *Goſpell*, nor any ſuch *promiſe* of *temporall proſperitie*, but holy *prædictions* & *foretellings* of the *croſſe* and *perſecution* ordinarily to all that will live *Godly* in *Chriſt Jeſus*, and the greater *perſecution* to the moſt zealous and faithfull Servants of *Chriſt Jeſus*: So neither can he give any true Inſtance (truely proper and parallell) to this purpoſe.

Perſecution the ordinarie Portion of Chriſts Followers.

Peace. Me thinks although ſucceſſe be no conſtant rule to walke by, yet *Gods providence* in *ſucceſſe* of *Journies*, *Victories*, &c. are with great *care* and *feare* to be attended to and pondered, and the *Hand* and *Eye* of *God* to be obſerved in them, of what ſort or Nature ſo ever they be.

Truth. Two inſtances of greateſt *ſucceſſe* and *temporall proſperitie* we have preſented to us on the *publike ſtage* of this world, before our owne *Dores*, crowning the *Heads* of ſuch *States* and *States-men*, as have attended to *mercy* and *freedome* toward oppreſſed *Conſciences*.

Two States wonderfully favoured by God, upon mercy ſhewed to oppreſſed Conſciences, formerly *Holland* and now the State of *England*.

The firſt is that of the *State* of *Holland*: The ſecond of our owne Native *England*, whoſe renowned *Parliament* and *victorious Armie* never ſo proſpered, as ſince their *Declaration* and *pra-*

ctice of *pitie* and *mercy* to *Consciences* oppressed by Mr *Cottons* bloudie *Tenent*.

Peace. In the next Passage, it being a *Grievance* that Mr *Cotton* should grant with *Luther* the *Magistrates* power to extend no further then the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the Subject, and yet withall maintaineth, that they must punish *Christians* for sinning against the Light of *Faith* and *Conscience*: Mr *Cotton* answers;

Bodies and Goods the Magistrates object.

First; He supposeth the *chiefe good* to be that of *Christian Faith* and *Good Conscience*.

Secondly; Suppose (sayth he) by *Goods* were meant outward *Goods*, yet the *Magistrate* may punish such in their *Bodies* and *Goods*, as seduce, &c. for (sayth he) in seeking *Gods Kingdome* and the *Righteousnesse* thereof, Men prosper in their outward *Estates*, Matth. 6. 23. Otherwise they decay.

Lastly, He remembers not the proposition to be his, [The *Magistrates power* extendeth no further, then the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the *Subject*] He answereth it is true in respect of the *Object*, though not in respect of the *End*, which (sayth he) is εὐπολιτεύειν, *Bene administrare Rempublicam*. And he asketh if it be well with a *Common-weale*, enjoying bodily *health* and worldly *wealth*, without a *Church*, without *Christ!* And he concludes with the Instance of the *Romane Empire*, which had it not cast away Idolatrie (sayth he) had been ruined.

Truth. For answer; First, the *distinction* is famous among all Men of the *Bona* or *Goods* of *Animi*, *Corporis*, *Fortunæ*: and againe, that of the *Minde*, *Soule*, and *Conscience* within, and that of the *Body* and *Goods* without, that it can be no lesse then a *Civill* as well as a *Spirituall Babell* to confound them.

Oppression in Bodies Goods and Minde.

Secondly, To his *Supposition*, suppose (sayth he) by *Goods* were meant outward *Goods*, yet the *Magistrate* may punish such in their *Bodies* and *Goods*, as doe *Seduce*, &c. I see not how these Cohere any better then the grant of some *Papists*, that the *Churches* power extends no further then the matters of *Faith* and *Conscience*: But yet (say they) they may punish such in their *Bodies* and *Goods* as *seduce*, &c. Mr *Cottons Suppositions* and the *Papists* come both out of the same *Babylonian* Quiver.

But thirdly, let us minde his *Reason* from *Matth.* 6. In seeking *Gods Kingdome* men prosper in *outward estate*, otherwise not:

I answer,

I answer, this *Proposition* would better befit the pen of a *Jew* then a *Christian*, a follower of *Moses*, then of *Jesus Christ*, who although he will not fayle to take care for his in *Earthly Providences*, that make it their chiefe *worke* to seeke his *Kingdome*, yet he maketh (as I may say) *Christs Crosse* the first *Figure* in his *Alphabet*, taking up his *Crosse* and *Gallowes* (in most ordinarie persecution,) which with selfe-deniall, are the assured *Tearmes* his *Servants* must resolve to looke for.

'Tis true, he promiseth and makes good, an *hundreth Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Wives, Children, Houses* and *Lands*: But Mr *Cotton* well knowes, it is [with *persecution*]. And how this outward *prosperitie*, agrees with *Imprisonments, Banishments, hanging, burning*, for *Christs sake*: the *Martyrs* or *Witnes* of *Jesus* in all *Ages*, and the *cry* of the *Soules* under the *Altar*, may bring againe to his *Remembrance*, if *New Englands peace*, *profit*, *pleasure* and *Honour*, have lulld him into a *Forgetfulnesse* of the *principles* of the true Lord *Jesus Christ*.

Wealth, Honour, and Prosperitie seldome attending Christs true Followers.

Peace. But Mr *Cotton* remembreth not the *Proposition* to be his, to wit, that the *Magistrates* power extendeth no further then the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the Subject.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* hinted not his least dissent from *Luther* (as he otherwayes useth to doe if he disowne,) &c.

Secondly, He grants it true in the *object*, to wit, that the object of the *Magistrates power* is the *Body* and *Goods* of the *Subject*, though not in the *End* which he saith is εὐνομεῖσθαι, well to administer the *Common-weale*: Now I aske what is this *Common-weale?*

Peace. The *Spirit* of *God* distinguisheth in the *New Testament* between the *Common-weales* of the *Nations* of the *World*, and the *Common-weale* of *Israel*. The *Common-weale* of *Israel*, Mr *Cotton* will not affirme now to be a *Church Provinciall, Nationall, Oecumenicall*, but *Particular* and *Congregationall*.

What is the Cõmon weale of *Israel*.

Truth. If so, then the *finall cause* of both these *Common weales* or *States* cannot be the same. But although the *End* of the *Civill Magistrate* be excellent, to wit, well to administer the *Common-weale*, yet the end of the *Spirituall Common-weale* of *Israel* and the *Officers* thereof, is as *different* and *transcendent* as the *Heaven* is from the *Earth*.

Peace. But how (sayth Mr *Cotton*) can it be well with the

Common-wealth that injoyes bodily health, and worldly wealth, if there be no *Christ*, no *Church* there? and how was it with the *Romane Empire* which the *Red-horse* of *War*, and *Black horse* of *Famine*, and *Pale horse* of *Pestilence* would have ruined, if she had not cast away her *Idols*.

Truth. Concerning this instance of *Rome* Master *Cotton* here acknowledgeth it abounded in *worldly blessings*, till the *Lord Jesus* came riding forth upon the *White Horse* of the *Gospel*. And Master *Cotton* may remember that from the Foundation of her rising and Glory, laid by *Romulus* untill *Christs* time, it flourished about 750 years in a long chaine of *generations* succeeding each other in *worldly prosperity*, and yet no *Church* nor *Christ* to uphold it, so far is Master *Cottons Romish instance* from countenancing Mr. *Cottons Roman Doctrine*.

The *Roman* Empire flourisheth in worldly glory without *Christ*

Peace. But when *Christ* came (saith Master *Cotton*) and was neglected, then the *Red* and *Black* and *Pale* horse had almost destroyed her, if she had not cast away her *Idols*.

Truth. I answer, *Rome* the head of the *Empire* cannot be said to neglect *Christ* (untill the bloody Tenent of persecution arose amongst them) I say, not to neglect *Christ* more, nor so much as other *States*, for there were so many of the *Romanes*, and so glorious professors of *Christ Jesus*, that all the world over the Faith and *Christian* obedience of the *Romanes* was renowned.

The Citie of *Rome* famous for professing *Christ Jesus*.

2 The *Roman Impire* cannot be said to cast away her *Idols*, but to change (as the *Portugals* did in the East-Indies) her *Idols* her more grosse and *Pagan Idols*, for more refined & beautified *Idols*, painted over with the name of *Christ*, the true *God*, *holines*, *&c.* and this in the glorious dayes of *Constantine*, or not long after. The *Church* of *Christ Jesus* which under persecution remained a *wife* and *spouse* of *Christ Jesus*, now degenerates and apostates into an *Whore*, in the times of her ease, security and prosperity. (Whole Cities, Nations, and the whole world forced and ravished into a *whore* or Antichristian Christian.)

Christs Spouse most chast under persecution.

3 As far as the *East* is from the *West*, so far is the world and nations and Empire of it from the holinesse of *Christ Jesus*, holy Spirit, Truth and Saints: With what appearance then of *Christs holinesse*, *glory*, *&c.* can Master *Cotton* advance the world, (the *Roman Empire*) to be (as he here speaks) the Advancer of the *scepter* of *Christ Jesus*?

Peace.

Peace. If this *Roman Empire* be that dreadfull *Beast*, (in *Daniels* prophecy) more strange and terrible then the rest, yea, and more terrible to *Christ Jesus* and his servants, then was the former *Babilonian Lion*, or *Persian Beare*, or *Grecian Leopard*, what truth of *Jesus* is this, that advanceth this dreadfull bloody *Beast* to be the *Advancer* of the *Scepter*, that is, the *Church* and Government, the *Truth* and *Saints* of *Christ Jesus*.

The *Roman* Monarchy bloody to the Saints.

Peace. Glorious things (Dear Truth) are recorded of *Constantine* and other glorious Emperors.

Truth. The *Beast* was (sweet Peace) the *Beast* still, although it pleased *God* to give some refreshing and reviving to his persecuted servants, by *Constantine* and other blessed Instruments yet *Constantines* favour was a bitter *sweeting*, his *superstitious zeal* laying the *Foundation* for after *Usurpations* and *Abominations*.

Constantine a friend and enemy to *Christs Spouse*.

4. But further, for neer 1000 years together, both before and after *Christs time*, *Rome* grew and flourished (with little alterations of her *glory* in comparison) untill this very time that Master *Cotton* cals ths *casting away* of her *Idols*: For not before, but after *Constantines* advancing of *Christians* to wealth and honour, &c. I say neer about 300 years together (interchangably) after his time, untill *Pipinus*, and *Charles* the Great, the City and state of *Rome* was almost ruined and destroyed, by the often dreadfull incursions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, *Huns*, *Longobards*, and other furious Nations: So contrary to the truth of *Jesus* is this fleshly doctrine of worldly wealth and prosperity, and also this very instance of *Rome* and her glory here discussed.

The state of the *Romane* Empire before and after Christ.

Peace. Master *Cotton ends* with *prayer* and *blessing* to God (as *James* speakes) and bitter and cutting *cursings* and *censures* to man, the poor Discusser, who (saith Master *Cotton*) *seduceth* himselfe and others and delights to doe it, and against the *light* of *grace* and *conscience*, against *reason* and *experience*.

Truth. The Discusser is as humbly confident of *Grace* and *Conscience*, *Reason* and *Experience*, yea, the *God* of all *Grace*, *Christ Jesus*, his holy *Spirit*, *Angels*, *Truth* and *Saints* to be on his side, as Master *Cotton* otherwise can be: But the day shall try, the *Fire* and *Time* shall try which is the *Gold* of *Truth* and

faith-

Faithfulnesse, and which the *Drosse* and *Stubble* of *Lyes* and *Errour*.

In the meane time I dare pronounce from the *Testimony* of *Christ Jesus*, that in all Controversies of *Religion*: That *Soul* that most possesseth it selfe in patient suffering, and dependeth not on the *arme* of *flesh*, but upon the arme of *God*, *Christ Jesus*, for his comfort and protection, that Soul is most likely (in my observation) to see and stand for the *Truth* of *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. In the next place Master *Cotton* denyes to compell to the *Truth* by *penalties*, but onely by withdrawing such favours as are comely and safe for such persons.

Truth. I have formerly answered, and doe, that a great Load may be made up by Parcels and particulars, as well as by one *masse* or *bulke*; and that the backs of some men, especially Merchants may be broke, by a withdrawing from them some Civill priviledges and rights (which are their due) as well as by afflicting them in their Purses, or Flesh upon their backs.

God will not wrong, nor have *Cæsar* wronged.

2 *Christ Jesus* was of another opinion (who distinguisheth between *Gods* due and *Cæsars* due: and therfore (with respect to *God* his cause and Religion) it is not lawfull to deprive *Cæsar* the Civil Magisteate, nor any that belong to him of their Civil and Earthly rights. I say in this respect, although that a man is not *Godly*, a *Christian*, sincere, a *Church member*, yet to deprive him of any *Civill right* or *Priviledge*, due to him as a Man, a Subject, a Citizen, is to take from *Cæsar*, that which is *Cæsars*, which *God* indures not though it be given to himselfe.

Peace. *Experience* oft-times tell us, that however the stream of just *Priviledges* and *Rights* hath (out of *Carnal Policy*) been stopt by *Gods people*, when they have got the *Staffe* into their hands (in divers *Lands* and *Countreys*) yet hath that *streame* ever returned, to the greater *calamity* and *tryal* of *Gods* people.

Truth. But (thirdly) it hath been noted that even in *New-England*, penalties by *Law* have been set to force all to come to *Church*, which will appear upon a due search to be nothing else but an outward profession of *force* and *violence*, for that *Doctrine* which they suppose is the *Truth*.

Peace. Concerning coming to *Church*: wee tolerate (ſaith Maſter *Cotton*) *Indians*, *Presbyterians*, *Antinomians*, and *Anabaptiſts*: and compell none to come to *Church* againſt their *conſcience*, and none are reſtrained from hearing even in *England*.

Truth. Compelling to come to Church is apparant whether with or againſt their Conſcience, let every man look to it. The toleration of *Indians* is againſt profeſſed *principles*, and againſt the *ſtream* of all his preſent diſpute as before I proved.

Concerning toleration in *New-England*.

Touching the *Magiſtrates* duty of ſuppreſſing *Idolatry*, *Witchcraft*, *Blaſphemy*, *&c.* ſuch *Indians* as are (poſſeſſedly ſubject to *Engliſh*) in *N. England*, notoriouſly continue and abound in the ſame which if they ſhould not permit, it as apparant, their *ſubjection* is hazarded.

Tis true, this *Toleration* is a *Duty* from *God*, but a ſin in them becauſe they profeſſe it their Duty to ſuppreſſe *Idolatry*, *Blaſphemy*; I adde, Maſter *Cotton* may ſay, we not onely tolerate the *Indians* in their abominable and barbarous *worſhips*, but (which may ſeem moſt incredible) we tolerate the *Indians* alſo in that which by our *civil principles* we ought to tolerate no ſubject in, that is, in abominable *lying*, *whoring*, *curſing*, *thieving*, without any active courſe of reſtraint, *&c.*

Tis true, Thoſe *Indians* ſubmitting to their Government (as it may be Maſter *Cotton* will ſay to the ten Commandements) yet living in all kind of *Barbariſme*, live ſome miles more remote: how ever they are (they ſay) their ſubjects) were every miles diſtance an hundreth.

Peace. But is there any ſuch and profeſſed tolleration of *Antinomians*, *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptiſts*, as is here inſinuated?

Truth. I know of no toleration of *Presbyterian*, *Antinomians*, *Anabaptiſts*, worſhipping God in any meetings, ſeparate from the *common Aſſemblies*. If any ſuch perſons be amongſt them (like Church-Papiſts) it is their ſin, that they ſeparate not from ſuch oppoſite *Aſſemblies* and *Worſhips*, and it is the ſin of ſuch *aſſemblies* to tolerate ſuch perſons after due admonitions, in the name of *Chriſt*, rejected.

Witneſſe the bloody whipping of *Obadiah Homes* for the point of *Baptiſme* lately at *Boſton*.

But further, Maſter *Cotton* grants a *Communion* in hearing in a *Church-Eſtate* by *Church members*, but not in any as are no *Church-members*, but come in as the *Pagan*, *Infidell*, 1 *Cor.* 14.

Truth. Communion is twofold, First, open and profeſſed among

Communion Spirituall, two-fold.

among *Church-Members:* Secondly, *Secret* and *implicite* in all such as give their *presence* to such *Worships* without *witnessing* against them. For otherwise, how can a *Church-Papist* satisfie the *Law*, compelling him to come to *Church*, or a *Protestant* satisfie a *Popish Law* in *Popish Countries*, but by this *Cloake* or *Covering*, hiding and saving of themselves by bodily *presence* at *Worship*, though their *Heart* be farre from it.

The great Triall among *Papists* & *Protestants* concerning comming to Church.

Peace. Whereas it was said, that *Conscionable Papists*, and all *Protestants* have suffered upon this ground, especially of refusing to come to each others *Church* or *meeting*. Mr *Cotton* replies; They have suffred upon other *points*, and such as have refused to come to *Church*, have not refused because such hearing implanted them into *Church-Estate*, but out of *feare* to be leavened.

Truth. 'Tis true, many have suffred upon other *points*, but upon due *Examination* it will appeare that the great and most *universall Tryall* hath been, amongst both *Papists* and *Protestants* about coming to *Church*, and that not out of *feare* of being *leavened* (for what *Religion* is ordinarily so distrustfull of its owne strength?) as of Countenancing what they believe *false*, by their *presence* and *appearance*.

Exam: of Chap. 71. *replying to* Chap. 74.

Peace. Concerning the *Papists testimonie* against *persecution*; Mr *Cotton* replyes: First, why may not their *Testimonie* be *wicked*, as well as their *Booke*, confest so to be? Secondly, He grants, that *Conversion* of *Soules* ought not to be but by *Spirituall* meanes.

Truth. It is true, the Authour of the *Letter* calls their booke *wicked*, and themselves the *Authours* of *persecution*, yet their *Testimonie* is in part acknowledged by Mr *Cotton* to be true, and will further appeare so to be upon *Examination:* But whether Mr *Cotton* allow of no other *Armes*, then *Spirituall* to be used about *Spirituall conversion*, it hath and will be further examined.

Peace. Whereas the *Papists* alledge (*Matth.* 10.) that *Christ Jesus*

Jesus sent his *Ministers* as *sheepe* among *Wolves*, not as *Wolves* among *sheepe*, to *kill*, *imprison*, &c. Mr *Cotton* grants this true, yet adds that this hindreth not *Excommunication*, Tit. 3. nor *miraculous Vengeance* against *Spirituall Wolves* (Acts 13.) where there is a *gift*: nor their *Prayers* against such, 2 *Tim.* 4. 4. nor their *stirring up* of the *Civill power* against them, as *Elijah* did *Ahab* and the people against the Prophets of *Baal*, 1 Kings 18. 40.

Truth. Concerning the two first we agree, for the third, the *Prayers* of *Gods people* against *Gods Enemies*, we finde two-fold: First, *Generall* against all; secondly, *Particular* against some; and that two-fold; First, for *Gods Vengeance* in *Gods time*, leaving it to his holy *Wisdome*; as *Paul* prayd against *Alexander*. Secondly, For *present Vengeance*; as the *Disciples* desired in the case of *Christ*, Luke 9. And against such *Prayers* the Discusser did and doth contend.

Touching prayers for Vengeance upon Gods Enemies.

For the fourth, in *Stirring up* of the *Civill State* against *false Prophets*, I must answer as before, Let Mr *Cotton* produce any such *Civill State* in the *World*, as that *Extraordinarie* and *miraculous State* of *Israel* was, and I yeeld it: otherwise, if the *passage* be *extraordinarie* and *typing*, why doth Mr *Cotton* adde fuell to *Nebuchadnezzars fierie furnace*, which hath been so dreadfully hot already, and hath devoured so many *millions* of *Gods people?*

Stirring up of the Civill State to persecute.

Peace. Further out of *Matth.* 10. Whereas the *Papists* booke says, *Christs Ministers* should be delivered, but should not deliver up, those whom they are sent unto to *convert*, unto *Councells* or *Prisons*, or to make their *Religion Felonie* or *Treason*; Mr *Cotton* answers; What is this to *Apostates*, who seeke to *subvert* the Faith they have profest? What is this to them that seeke to *subvert States*, and kill *Kings*; which *Doctrine*, in downeright tearmes, he at last chargeth upon the *Authour* of the *Letter*, and the Discusser.

Truth. But how falls an *Antichristian* or *Apostate* more directly under the stroake of the *Civill Sword*, then a *Jew* or *Turke* or *Pagan?* By what rule of *God* or *Christ* hath a *Magistrate* of this *World*, *Authoritie*, so to punish the one above the other? And where hath Mr *Cotton* found one Title, either in the *Letter* or in the *Discusser*, which forbids the *Magistrate* to punish *Felonie*

or *Treason*, whether it be in *practice*, or in *Doctrine*, leading to it? Doth not every *Leafe* and *Line* breath the contrary to what Mr *Cotton* here insinuateth? The *Truth* is, as *Potiphars* wife accusing *Joseph* was not cleare her *selfe*, so let this charge be well examined, and this will be the *Result* of it; The *Papists* and the *Discusser* agree together in asserting one *Truth* in this Chapter, to wit, that *Gods Messengers* ought not to deliver any to *Prisons* or *Councells*. But in the *Doctrine* of *killing hereticall Kings* or *Magistrates*, who sees not but such *Papists* as hould that *Doctrine*, and Mr *Cotton* meete in the end? For if the *Magistrate* prove an *Apostate*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Heretick*, *Seducer* (according to Mr *Cottons Doctrine*, as well as the *Papists*); such *Kings* and *Magistrates* ought (as well as thousands of his *Subjects* in like case) be put to Death.

The *bloudie Tenent* of persecution is alone the King killing and State-killing Doctrine.

Peace. Againe, where the *Papists* booke argued from *Matth.* 10. that *Christ* bids his *Ministers* to salute an house with *peace*, he sends no *Pursevant* to *ransack* and *spoile* it: Mr *Cotton* answers: True, but if *Seducers* be there, or *Rebells* or *Conspiratours* be there, *God* hath armed the *Magistrate*, Rom. 13.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* (too too like the bloudie *persecutours* of *Christ Jesus* in all Ages) still couples the *Seducer* and the *Rebells* together, as the *Jewes* coupled *Christ* and *Barrabbas*, though *Barrabbas* finds more favor then the *Son* of *God*, for *Christ* as a *seducer*, a *Deceiver*, &c. is commonly executed, & *Barrabas* released.

'Tis true the *Magistrates Commission* is from *God*, even in the time of the *Gospel*, but *Christ Jesus* never gave *Commission* to *Magistrates* to send *Pursevants* to ransack an house, to search for *Seducers* and *Idolaters*, who transgresse onely against the *Spirituall Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, but not against *Civilitie* and the *Civill State*.

Peace. This *Distinction* of *Evills* I remember it pleased *God* to open some of the *Romane Emperours* eyes to see, upon the occasion of his poore servants *Apologies* presented unto them.

Antoninus Pius his Edict for the Christians.

Truth. You seasonably remember this (Deare *Peace*) for although we finde not *Antoninus Pius* or *Aurelius Antoninus* to have been Believers in *Christ Jesus*, yet they gave forth their *Edicts*, that no *Christian* should be punished meerely for that he was a *Christian*, except some other crime against the *Civill State* were proved against him: And the later of these gave in Expressed

presse *charge*, that such as were their *Accusers* should be burnt alive.

Peace. If such an *Edict* or any farre more moderate should come forth in our Time, against the great troublers of all *Civill States*, to wit, *Informers*, *Accusers* and *Maintainers* of the bloudie *Doctrine* of *persecution:* Doubtles thousands and ten thousands of Men, yea not a few of the most *zealous Hunters* or *persecutors* would easily submit to the Truth of the *Distinction* between the *crime* of a *Religion* contrary to a *State Religion*, and a *crime* against the *Civill State* thereof.

Transgression against the Spirituall or Civill peace.

But to the *Papists* againe, they (lastly) alledged *John* 10. that the true *Shepheard* comes not to kill the *sheepe*, &c. Upon this Master *Cotton* queries. But what if the *Wolfe*, the *Thiefe* come, shall the *Shepheard* use *Spirituall Censures*, when they are not capeable of such *stroakes*, or shall he not seeke helpe from the *Magistrate*, who is to see *Gods* people live a quiet and peaceable *Life* in all *Godlines* and *Honestie*, 1 Tim. 2.?

Truth. I answer, and cry out, how long, how long *Lord*, before thou avenge the bloud of thy *holy ones*, against them that dwell on the *Earth*, both *bloudie Papists* and *bloudie Protestants?* Out of their owne Mouthes shall *Papists* and *Protestants* be condemned, for slaughtering *Christ Jesus* (the *Shepheard*) in his poore *Sheepe* and *Servants*, and especially the bloudie *Papist*, for alledging that *Scripture*, for the *Popes bloudie Butcherie*, [Arise *Peter*, kill and Eate:] yet all pretending to save the *sheepe*, and onely to resist *Wolves*, *Thieves*, &c.

Persecutours of Christs Sheepe pretend to save them and kill none but Wolves.

But more punctually Master *Cotton* well knowes, that in the *Mysterie* of *Antichristianisme*, many thousand *Antichristian Wolves* pretend strongly to be the harmeles *sheepe* of *Christ Jesus*, yea his tender and carefull *Shepheards*, yet are but *Antichristian Thieves* and *Robbers*, who cannot *dig* and to *beg* are ashamed, and therefore finde it best to *steale* and *rob*, whole *Parishes* and *Provinces*, whole *Nations*, &c. for *Livings*, for *Benefices*, for *Bishopricks*, *Cardinalships*, *Popedomes*, &c.

Antichristian Ministers great Thieves.

Peace. What kinde of *Sheepe* and *Shepheards* (Christ Jesus will finde out shortly) are all those *Hirelings*, *Papist* or *Protestant*, who no longer *peny*, no longer *paternoster*, no longer *pay*, no longer *pray*, nor *preach*, nor *fast*, nor *convert*, &c.

Hireling Ministers.

Truth. These *Babylonian Rivers* shall at last be stopt: *God* and

Man ſhall agree to ſtop them : The truth of that holy *Myſterie* of that great *Exchange* ſhall be opened, *Revel.* 10. And Peoples eyes ſhall be opened to ſee, how theſe *myſticall Marchants* of the *Earth* (pretending to be the great *Sellers* of *Truth*) have been the greateſt *Deceivers*, and *Cheators*, the greateſt *Thieves* and *Robbers* in the *World*.

Peace. But Mr *Cotton* will ſay, *Gods people* would live at *peace* in *Godlineſſe* and *Honeſtie*, 1 Tim. 2. 1. as *Paul* profeſſeth, *Acts* 25. 8.

Fryars in *Chaucers* time and the *Cleargie* in our time conſidered.

Truth. I remember when old *Chaucer* puts this *Querie* to the foure chiefe ſorts of *Fryers* in his Time [which of the *foure ſorts* is the beſt] he finds every ſort applauding it ſelfe, and concluding the other three ſorts of *Fryers* to be *Liars* : whence in Concluſion he finds them all guilty of *Lying* (in a round) before *God*, for all profeſt themſelves to be the only *godly* men.

I may now ask, who among all the ſorts of *Churches* and *Miniſters* applaud not themſelves (like the *Fryars* in *Chaucers* dayes) to be *Chriſts* onely *Churches*, *Chriſts Miniſters*, &c. And who among the ſeverall ſorts of ſuch as are *Gods people* indeed, believe not their own *Godlines* (or worſhipping of *God*) to be onely right and *Chriſtian* ?

Peace. What now if each ſort ſhould enjoy *Magiſtrates* of their owne *profeſſion* and *Way* ?

Truth. The *bloudie Tenent* will unavoydably ſet them altogether by the Eares, to try out by the *longeſt Sword*, and *ſtrongeſt Arme*, which *Godlines* muſt live in *peace* and *quietnes* : But as for that Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 2. I have (as I believe) fully debated it, in the *Examination* of the *Modell*, and made it evident how farre from all *Godlines* and *Honeſtie* that holy *Scripture* is perverted.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* in the next paſſage being charged with partiall dealing, and a double *waight* and *meaſure*, one for himſelfe and another for others; Mr *Cotton* in effect anſwereth, that it is a true and juſt Complaint againſt *perſecution* and *perſecutours*, but not againſt them, for they are *Righteous* and not *Apoſtates*, *Seducers*, *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*, *Blaſphemers*, &c.

Peace. What doth Maſter *Cotton* anſwer, but what all *religions*, *ſects*, and ſeverall ſorts of *worſhippers* in the world : all religious *Prieſts* and *Church-men* plead, We are Righteous ? &c.

Peace.

Peace. Yea, the very *Turkes* and *Mahumetans* challenge to themselves true *Faith* in God, yea, whether *Jews*, *Antichristians* or *Christians*, they all call themselves *Muselmanni* that is the *right beleevers.*

The Turkes themselves will be *Muslemanni*, or right beleevers.

Truth. It is not so great wonder then if the *popish* and *protestant* sects, and *ministers* of *worship* cry out (as men use to doe in *suits* of *Law* and pretences to the *Crowne*) We are *righteous*, my title is good, and the *best.* We are *holy*, we are *Orthodox* and *godly*: You must spare *us*, beleeve *us*, honour *us*, feed *us*, protect and defend *us* in peace and quietnesse. Others are *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Idolators*, *Blasphemers*, starve *them*, imprison *them*, banish *them*, yea hang *them*, burne *them* with fire and sword pursue them.

The horrible partialite of persecutors.

Peace. When it was urged (by way of prevention) that persons truly professing *Christ Jesus* be his sheep, and they cannot persecute;

First, Because it is against the nature of *Sheep* to hunt, no not the *Wolves* that have hunted themselves, &c. Master *Cotton* answers, First if the similitude be so stretched, then if a *Magistrate* be a *sheep*, he ought not to punish, *robbers*, *adulterers*, *murtherers*, *&c.*

2 "*Paul* was a *sheep*, and yet he strook *Elimas* with blindnesse, *Acts* 13.

3 "(Saith he) when the *Wolfe* runs upon the *sheep*, it is not a-
"gainst the nature of the true *sheep* to run to the true *sheepherd*,
"and is it against the nature of the true *Sheepherd* to send forth
"his Dogs, to worrie such a *VVolfe*, without incurring the re-
"proach of a *persecutour.*

Truth. To the first, the finger of true *Distinction* will easily untie these seeming knots.

Misticall sheep.

Sheep therefore are two-fold, *naturall* and *misticall.*

Againe, *misticall* are two-fold, First, *Civill*, and so all *Magistrates* have rightly been called *Sheepherds* and the people *sheep.*

2 Spirituall, and so *Christ Jesus* gave *pastors*, that is *Sheepheards* and *Teachers*, and all *Believers* and *followers* of *Jesus* are *sheep.*

On the contrary there are *naturall* and *misticall wolves*: of *misticall* some oppose the *spirituall*, and some the *Civill State*, and some both, who must be resisted by the proper *sheepheads*, and

proper

proper *weapons* in each kind, and to confound these is to *deceive* and to be *deceived.*

Peace. Upon the ground of this *Distinction* we may easily perceive, that a *Shepheard* in *Civil state*, of what Religion soever he be, as a *Shepheard* of the people he ought to defend them by force of *Civill arms*, from all oppressions of *body, goods, chastity, name, &c.* This doth the *Magistrate* as a *Shepheard* of the *Civil state* and people, considered in a Civil respect and capacity, and this ought all the *Magistrates* in the world to doe, whether they be *sheep* or no themselves in another respect, that is in a spirituall and *Christian.*

Truth. Yea, and if a *Magistrate* be a *sheep* or a true *Christian*, who seeth not that he punisheth not the *robber*, *adulterer*, *murtherer* as a spirituall *shepheard* with spirituall weapons, but as a *Civil Shepheard* with a *Civill staffe, sword, &c?*

Paul his striking *Elimas* blind considered.

Tis true, *Paul* was a *sheep*, that is, a spirituall *sheep*; he also was a *spirituall Shepheard*, and *Elimas* was a *wolfe* opposing spiritually, and *Paul* in his opposition strook him blind. *Striking* is two-fold, *spirituall* and *corporall*: And all the *sheep* of *Christ* as *spirituall*, are also *Lyons* and armed *men*, and so doe strike *spiritually.*

Peace. It will be said that *Paul* strook both *spiritually* and *corporally.*

Truth. Corporal strokes may be considered either ordinary or mediate, by force of *armes, fire* and *sword, &c.* or extraordinary and immediate, such as it pleased *God* to use himselfe, and his holy *Prophets* and *Apostles* by his power: Now 'tis true, in this second way, (even in spirituall cases) *Gods sheep* which have been indued with power above nature, that is of miracles, have plagued *Egypt*, have burnt up Captaines and their Fifties, yea pluckt up *Nations* and *Kingdomes* as *Jeremie*: *Peter* kild *Ananias* and his wife, *Paul* strook *Elimas* blind, and the two witnesses consume their *Enemies* with fire out of their mouths.

Of the power of miracles.

If either of these should doe this ordinarily, that is, by ordinary means (for instance, if *Peter* had killed *Ananias* with a *Sword*, or *Paul* beat out *Elimas* his eyes with a *Fist* or stone) they ought to have been punished by the *Civil state*, as oppressors of the people, and transgressors against *Civill peace, &c.* But performing

forming these executions, by a spirituall, divine and miraculous power, above humane reach: all that heard were to acknowledge, and feare and tremble at the holy *Spirits* might: of this gift of miracles, I say as the Lord *Jesus* spake touching the gift of *Continency*, he that can receive it, let him receive it.

Peace. By what hath been said, I see Master *Cottons* last answer will be more easily satisfied: when the *VVolfe* runneth ravenously (saith he) upon the *sheep*, is it against the nature of the true *sheep* to run to their *Shepheards?* and it is not against the nature of the true *Sheepherd* to send forth his Doggs to worrie such a *VVolfe, &c?*

Truth. Master Cotton (doubtlesse) here intends *mistical sheep*, and *Shepheards*, and *VVolves* and *Doggs*, and presseth the similitude from the naturall sheep in Civill respect, he cannot here mean (for that is not the *Question*) whether *Wolvish-men* oppressing the *Civill state* are to be resisted and suppressed by *civill weapons, &c.*

Spirituall sheep and wolves considered.

Concerning *Spiritual sheep* then: the first *question* is: If the *wolfe* runs ravenously upon the *Sheep*, is it against the nature of the true *Sheep* to run to their *Shepheard?* I answer, a spiritual *Wolfe* (a false *Teacher, &c.*) may be said to run ravenously upon a *spirituall sheep*, by *spiritual assault* of Argument, Dispute, Reproach, &c. The same man as a *civil wolfe* (for so we must speake to speake properly) may also run upon a *sheep* of *Christ* by *Civill Armes*, that is in a *Civil respect*, upon *Body* and *Goods, &c,*

If now the *Wolfe* ravin the first way, the *sheep* of *Christ* may and ought to run, to the *Lord Jesus* (the great Mr. *Shepheard*) and to such under and in inferiour *Shepheards* as he hath appointed (if he can attain to them.)

If the second way, the *sheep* (beside running to *Christ Jesus* by *prayer*, and to his *Ordinances* and *Officers* for advice and comfort) may run to the Civil *Magistrate* (appealing to *Cæsar, &c.*) against such uncivill violence and oppression.

Peace. Mine heart joyfully acknowledgeth the *Light* mine eye seeth, in that true and necessary *distinction*: Now to the Second *Question*, is it against the nature of the true *Shepheard* (saith Mr. *Cotton*) to send forth his *Doggs* to worrie such a *wolfe, &c.*

Truth.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* here discoursing of *Christs sheepe*, and *Christs Shepheards*, *Reason* would perswade, that the *Shepheards* or *Pastours* here intended should be the *Shepheards* or *Pastours* appointed by *Christ Jesus*, Ephes. 4.

Peace. If so he should intend, it well suits with the *spirit* of some *proud* and scornfull (pretended) *Shepheards* of *Christ Jesus* in the World, who have used to call their *Clarkes*, *Sumners*, *Proctors*, and *Pursevants*, their *hunting Dogs*, &c.

Truth. But such *Dogs*, (as yet) the *Independent Pastours* or *Shepheards*, keepe not.

The Pope and all proud Popish Priests and Cleargie use the Civill Powers but as Dogs.

Peace. Yea but the *Pope* (to speake in Mr *Cottons* phrase, yet with all humble respect to *Civill Authoritie*, the blessed *Ordinance* of *God* and *Man*) I say the *Pope* keeps such *Dogs* good store, yea *Dogs* of all sorts, not onely of those lesser kindes, but whom he useth as his *Dogs*, the *Emperours*, *Kings*, and *Magistrates* of the *World*, whom he teacheth and forceth to *crouch*, to lie *downe*, to *creepe*, and kisse his *foote*, and from thence at his beck to flie upon such greedie *Wolves*, as the *Waldenses*, *Wicklevists*, *Hussites*, *Hugonites*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Protestants*, *Puritans*, *Sectaries*, &c. to *imprison*, to *whip*, to *banish*, to *hang*, to *head*, to *burne*, to *blow up* such vile *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Blasphemers*, &c.

But I forget, it will be said, the *Protestants Grounds* and *practices* differ from the *Popes* as far as *Light* from *Darknes*, and how ever the *Pope* useth the *secular power* and *Magistrates* thereof, but as *Dogs* and *Hangmen*, yet the *Reformed Churches* teach and practice better.

The Protestant Cleargie their dealing with Magistrates.

Truth. 'Tis true (sweet *Peace*) the *Protestants* professe greater *honour* and *subjection* to the *Civill Magistrate*: But let *plaine English* be spoken and it will be found that the *Protestant cleargie* (as they will be calld) ride the *backs* and *necks* of *Civill Magistrates*, as *fully* and as *heavily* (though not so *pompously*) as ever the great *Whore* sat the *backs* of *Popish Princes*.

Peace. The *Protestant Cleargie* hath yeelded up the *temporall sword* into the hand of the *temporall State*, *Kings*, *Governours*, &c. They proclaime the *Magistrates*, *Head* of the *Church*, *Defenders* of their *Faith*, the *Supreame Judges* in all *causes* as well *Ecclesiasticall* as *Civill*.

Truth. 'Tis true, they make the *Magistrate* Head of the *Church*

Church, but yet of what *Church* they pleaſe to make and faſhion.

They make him *Defendour* of the *Faith*, but of what *Faith*, what *Doctrine*, what *Diſcipline*, what *Members* they pleaſe to admit and account of: And this under the *penaltie* of being accounted either *hereticall* (and ſo *Magiſtrates* worthy themſelves to be put to Death) or *ignorant*, and ſo not fit to *act* (as Mr *Cotton* ſayth) but muſt ſuſpend their *power*, untill they ſubmit to the *Cleargies* pretended *Light*, and ſo be learnd to ſee and read with the *Cleargies Spectacles*.

Peace. To this purpoſe (indeed) agrees the next *paſſage*, wherein Mr *Cotton* affirmeth, that although all the *Magiſtrates* in the *World*, ought to puniſh *Blaſphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, yet this muſt they not doe while their *Conſciences* are *blinde* and *ignorant* of the *Truth*, and yet they ceaſe not to be *Magiſtrates* (ſayth he) although they cannot performe all the Duties of *Magiſtrates*.

A ſuſpending or hanging up of Magiſtrates

Truth. Concerning this *ſtated Dutie* of all *Magiſtrates*, and yet *ſuſpending* of all *ignorant Magiſtrates* from *acting*, according to this their *Dutie* I have ſpoken to before and often, I now add, according to Mr *Cottons ſimilitude*, if the *Errours* of others be as *motes* in compariſon of the *beames* of this *ignorance* and *blindneſſe* in *Magiſtrates*, which he calleth *Beames*, it will be found that he renders thouſands of the *Magiſtrates* of the *World* as uncapable to be true *Magiſtrates*, as an heape of *Timber* to be an *Houſe*, which wants the *beames* and *principalls*.

Peace. The *ſumme* of the *Difference* in the laſt *paſſage* is not great, nor any in *words*, for ſayth Mr *Cottons Concluſion*, If the *Difference* be onely in the *way* and *manner* of the *Adminiſtration* of *Chriſt*, and the *Difference* be held forth in a *peaceable* and *Chriſtian* way, *God* forbid a *Staffe* ſhould be ſhaken againſt ſuch, or a *Sword* unſheathed.

Truth. Alas, where hath lien the great *Difference* between the *Prelates* and *Presbyterians*, the *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, but about the *way* and *Adminiſtration* of *Chriſts Kingdome* (for as for matter of *Doctrine* according to the 39 *Articles* of the *Church* of *England*, they have little differd)? Yea wherein for matter of *Doctrine*, of *Faith*, *Repentance* and *Holineſſe*) have the *Churches* which make whole *ſeperation*, or ſuch

The great ſpirituall differenceſof theſe late Times.

as goe further to a new *Baptisme*, wherein have they differd from the former ? and yet we know what *Lawes* have been and are extant in *Old* and *New England* against them, and what *practices* have been felt, and may justly be expected both from the *Mother* and the *Daughter*, if a jealous *God* and heavenly *Father* (for our *unthankfullnesse*) should once be pleased to finish this late and *wonderfull calme* and *moderation* : Which yet may justly be feard to prove, (as Sea-men use to observe) but a *Winters calme*, and they say, a *Winters calme* (for then *stormes* are breeding) is as bad as a *Summers storme*.

Of rest from persecution.

Exam: of Chap. 72. *replying to* Chap. 75. Concerning the *Testimonie* of *Austin*.

Peace. MAster *Cotton* finds two *faults* in the first entrance. First, that *Antichrist* should be said to be too hard for *Christ* at *voting* : 2. That *Austins Testimonie* should be put off as a *Rhetoricall Evasion*.

Truth. To the first, it will shortly appeare as the *Light* at *Noone day*, what packing of *Votes*, and *listing*, and *mustring* up of *Numbers* have been in all *Ages*, in all *Councells*, in all *Synods*, in all *Parliaments*, and in all (falsely so called) *Christian Countries*, against the *Lord*, his *Christ* and *Servants*.

Peace. But Mr *Cotton* marvailes that when the *case* concernes *tolleration* of *Hereticks* and *Antichristians*, that *Antichrist* should procure more *Votes* against *Antichristians*, and that *Christ* should procure any *Vote*, though fewer, for them.

Truth. To expound this ridle ; It was never affirmed, that *Christ* hath any *Votes* for the tollerating of *Hereticks* or *Antichristians* in the *Religious State* or *Church* of *Christ*, but in the *Civil State* or *Common-weale*, that is, in the common field of the world together.

Secondly, Not onely *Antichrist* may oppose some *Antichristians*, but the *Israel* of *God* may oppose *Israel* : *Ephraim* may be against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, and both against *Judah* in severall respects. Have not the *Presbyterians* been against the *Independents*, and the *Independents* against the *Presbyterians*, and both against such as *seperate* from the *uncleannesses* of them both ? No

Gods children may possibly fight each against the other.

No wonder then when one *Antichristian Faction* prevailes to crush another, (and therein wraps up *Christ Jesus* himselfe as an *Antichristian*,) that *Christ Jesus* should finde some *Friends* and *Votes* against the *Oppressing Faction*, though the *number* of the *oppressours* doe farre exceede, and cast the cause (most commonly) against *Christ Jesus*, as a *Malefactor*, a *Drunkard*, a *Glutton*, a *Deceiver*, a *mad-man* possest with a *Devill*, a *Seducer*, a *Blasphemer*, &c.

Antichristians against Antichristians, but principally against Christ.

Peace. But to the second, let us Examine the *Reasons* against *Austins Argument* with Mr *Cottons* defence of them.

The first answer was, that *soule-killing* was of a large *extent* in *Scripture*, which may reach to many *sins* that are not *capitall*; Mr *Cotton* replyes; the Answer reacheth not the *point*; for as every *killing* of the *Body* is not a *capitall crime*, so neither is every *killing* of the *soule*, but such as is more *voluntary* and *presumptuous*, and joyned with some *grosse* and *murtherous* intent.

Touching spirituall murther.

Truth. *Austin* and Mr *Cotton* spake in generall, without distinction of *soule-murther* and *killing*: the *Title* and *sound* of *soule-murther* and *soule-killing*, should not be cast abroad like *Thunder* and *Lightning*, with a late excuse that we intend not every *soule-murther* and *killing*.

Peace. Your second *Argument* was from the *Dissimilitude* of *bodily* and *spirituall Death*: *Body-killing* is but once and for ever, but a *soule* killed may recover, &c. Mr *Cotton* replyes, that the very attempt of *soule-killing* is *capitall*, Deut. 13. 10.

Truth. First, then the *Dissimilitude* or *Difference* remaines good, between the *murthering* of the *body*, and the *killing* of the *soule* or *inner man*; contrary to his Answer foregoing.

Secondly, Concerning this *attempting* I have spoken elsewhere, and proved that *spiritually* it may be made good, against a *Christian Israelite*, falling away from *Christ*, and *seducing* others; but literally, against such *attempting* against any mans present *Religion* or *Worship*, (in any *Civill State* all the *World* over) it cannot be taken, because the *whole world*, the *Nations* and *peoples* of it cannot parallell this *State* of *Israel*, whence this plea is taken.

Touching Seducers.

Peace. I presume (Deare *Truth*) you would not *excuse* and *extenuate* the *punishment* of a *Soule-Traitour* and *seducer*, now under the *Gospel*.

The hainousnes of spirituall stumbling blocks.

Truth. No; I aggravate the least attempt of *soule-murther*, and the least *prejudice* or *hindrance* to *Eternall Life*, infinitly above what is *temporall* and *corporall murther*, when either *Husband* or *Wife*, *Brother* or *Sister*, *King* or *Queene*, *Synod* or *Parliament* shall lay a *stumbling block* in the *heavenly* way, or *grieve* or *offend* the least of the littles ones of *Christ Jesus*, and such *dreadfull punishment* shall all even the *highest* and *greatest* finde, who now seeme to forget the *Millstone*.

Punishing of Seducers.

Peace. The third argument was from the different punishment which *Christ Jesus* hath appointed for *Soul-killing*, to wit, by the two edged *sword*, which comes out of *Christs* mouth, which is able to cut downe *Heresie*, and to slay the soul of *Hereticks* everlastingly.

Master *Cotton* replies, *this answer hath been removed above: Church censures are sufficient to heal the Heretick, if he belong to God, and to remove the guilt of his wickednesse from the Church, but not to prevent spreading, &c. nor to clense the Common-wealth from such rebellion as hath been taught by him against the Lord.*

Commonweale twofold, and Rebellion twofold.

Truth. Above hath also been shewen the soveraigne *excellency* and *power* of *Christs* spirituall meanes against spirituall infection: Above hath also been shewen the two-fold *Common-wealth*; First, the *Civil* and *natural*; Secondly, the *spiritual*, *religious* and *Christian*.

Rebellion also against the Lord hath been proved, two-fold, First, *spirituall*, against himselfe in point of his more immediate *worship* and *service*, for which he hath provided not onely the *vengeance* of *eternall fire* approaching (according to the degrees and hainousnesse of such *rebellion*) but also present *spirituall punishment*, far exceeding all *corporall punishment* and *torment* in the *world*.

2 *Rebellion* against God is *temporall* and more *mediate*, as it is a *resistance*, *opposition* or *violation* of any Civil state or order appointed by *God* or *Men*. Now to confound these together, (and to hover in generall tearms of *Rebellion* against the *Lord*) is to blow out the *Candle* or *Light*, and to make a noise in the dark, with a sound and cry of a *guilty Land*, a *guilty State*, *soul-murtherers*, *soul-killers*, *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, *seducers*, *rebels* against the *Lord*, kill them, kill them, &c.

Suppose these *soul-murthering Hereticks*, *Seducers*, *&c.* be as full

full of vexation and mischief as the *Musketoes* or *Wolves* in *New England* or other Countries; It were to be wished, (but never can be hoped in this world) that every *Civil state*, *City* and *Towne* in the world, were free from such *mysticall* and *soul-vermin*: The poor *Planter* and *Farmer* is glad, if his house and chamber, if his yard and field, his family and cattel, may be tolerably clear from such annoyances, however the *Woods* and *Wildernes* abound with them: They that are of such *fierie pragmaticall* restles *spirits*, that they content not themselves to keep the *Farme* and *House* of the *Church* of *Christ* free from such *Infection* & *annoyance*, but rage that such *vermin* are suffered in the worlds *Wood*, &c. It is pity but they had their ful *employment* and *taske*, to *catch* and *kill* even all the *swarmes* and *Heards* of all the *Muskeetoes* and *Wolves*, which either the Wildernes of *America*, or the *whole World* can afford them. Mysticall Wolves and Muskeetoes.

4. *Peace.* Accordingly the Fourth Argument was from *Christs* tolerating of *soule-killers* to live in the *field* of the *World*, though not in the *Garden* of the *Church*: Mr *Cotton* replyes, this hath been largely and fully refeld above.

Truth. It is true, the Discusser alledged, and Mr *Cotton* refuted the *Exposition* of this *Parable*, but whether of them according to the minde of *Christ Jesus*, let every reader uprightly judge with feare and trembling at the word of the *Lord*.

Peace. The Fifth Argument was from the *Impossibilitie* of *killing* any *soule* by a *Heretick*: Mr *Cotton* answers, this is against *Paul* himselfe, 1 *Cor.* 8. 11.

Truth. As I spake unto the *Argument* of the *Impossibilitie* of the perishing of any of *Gods Elect*, so here, the using of such an *Argument* is far from *undervaluing* or *neglecting* of any of the *meanes* or *Ordinances*, *naturall* or *spirituall*, which *God* hath graciously appointed, but to condemne the *over-wise* and *over-busie Heads* and *Hands* of Men, adding their *Inventions* to *Gods Appointments*, as if *weake* and *insufficient*: whereas *Gods* number of *living* and *dead* are certaine, and though the meanes which he hath appointed for *life* should faile, and notwithstanding all other *meanes* in the *World* used by men as *helps* and *hindrances*, yet his holy End shall not be disappointed, but fulfilled. Of Soule-killing.

Beside the Difference between *soule-killing* and *body-killing*, is but (as Mr *Cotton* here useth the word) *so much as in us lieth*, that

that is, by *attempt* or *endeavour*, which may be many wayes frustrated, and disappointed by the holy hand of *God*, and the *soule* yet saved and live in the day of the *Lord Jesus*.

Touching State Religions.

Peace. Whereas you said, that the *imprisoning* of Men in a *Nationall* or *State Religion* is *guiltie* of their *Destruction*, together with the *monstrous sword* of *Civill Warres*, which cuts off Men from all meanes of *Repentance*.

Mr *Cotton* answers; If the *Religion* be good, it is no *Imprisonment*: If it be naught, then there should be no *Imprisonment*.

To the second (sayth he) this *Feare* is *causeles*, for if Men belong to *God*, he will give *Repentance*, and how ever (sayth he) *Gods* revealed *Will* is fullfilled in their just *Executions*.

Gods children Gods Citie, Nation and Kingdome.

Truth. I could here ask Mr *Cotton* where (amongst all the *Religions* and *Worships* of the *sonnes* of men) he ever met in the *whole World*, with above *one Nation*, which *Nationally* profest a true *Religion*; and where ever, since *Christ Jesus*, ending of the *shadowes*, any *State*, *Religion*, or *Nationall Worship* can be found true; notwithstanding Mr *Cotton* knowes I grant *Gods people*, in *Kingdomes*, *Nations*, *Cities*, *Townes*, &c. to be *Gods Kingdome*, *Nation*, *Citie*, &c.

A State Religion a prison.

Peace. And since Mr *Cotton* speakes thus of *Imprisonment*, me-thinkes that every *peaceable man* and *woman* may bring in here against him, at the *Tribunall* of *Christ Jesus*, an *Action* of false *Imprisonment* (indeed false every way) not onely of the sensible and *outward* man, but of the most noble and *inner part*, the *minde*, the *spirit*, and *Conscience*; for who knowes not that *Jerusalem* it selfe may be a prison to false-hearted *Shimei?* Who hath not found a *pallace* a *prison*, when forc't to keepe within it? yea *confine* a man to his own *house* and *home*, though deare and familiar, and most intimate to him, his owne *house* during that *force* and *restraint*, is a *prison* to him.

A forc't Religion.

Truth. Yea it is most wofully found evident, that the best *Religion* (like the *fairest Whores*, and the most *golden* and *costlie Images*) yea the most holy and pure and onely true *Religion* and *Worship*, appointed by *God* himselfe, is a *Torment* to that *Soule* and *Conscience*, that is forc't against its owne *free love*, and *choice*, to embrace and observe it: And therefore whether the *Religion* be good or naught (as Mr *Cotton* here distinguisheth) there ought to be no forcing, but the *soule* and *minde* and

con-

conſcience of *man*, that is indeed the *man*, ought to be left free, as in his *Earthly marriage-choice*, ſo here ten thouſand times rather in his *heavenly* and *ſpirituall*.

Peace. But what ſay you to his unmercifull *concluſion*, in the bloudſhed and *deſtruction* of ſo many *thouſands* and *millions*, formerly and lately *ſlaine* and *murthered* by this *bloudie Tenent* of *perſecution?* Yea the *late* and *lamentable ſtreames* of *Engliſh* bloud, and the bloud of our *neighbours, friends, Brethren, Parents*, powred forth by theſe late *Epiſcopall* or *Biſhops Warres?* Mr *Cottons* concluſion is, The revealed will of *God* (ſayth he) is fullfilled in their juſt *Execution*, whether they belong to *God* or no.

Of the late Warres.

Truth. I wiſh Mr *Cotton* more mercy from *God*, and a more mercifull minde toward the afflicted, and I ſay as the *Lord Jeſus* ſaid in the caſe of *offence:* Great *offences*, *Nationall offences* will come for *Religions ſake*, for *Nationall Religion* ſake, but woe unto thoſe that beare the guilt of ſo many thouſand *ſlaughters, murthers, raviſhings, plunderings*, &c. The *Pope*, the *Biſhops*, the *Presbyterians*, the *Independants*, ſo farre as they have been *Authours* or *Actors* in theſe *horrible Calamities*, out of the *perſwaſion* of the *bloudie Tenent* of *perſecution* for *Religion* and *Conſcience*; the voyce of ſo many *Rivers* of *bloud* cry to *Heaven* for vengeance againſt them.

The bloudie Tenent guilty of the Rivers of Bloud, &c.

Peace. But may not (bleſſed *Truth*) the *ſword* of *Civill power* which is from *God* (*Rom.* 13.) be drawne and drunke with *bloud* for *Chriſt* his ſake. What ſay you (among the many *Examples* of *Religions Warres*) to the moſt famous *Battles* of *Conſtantine* againſt the bloudie perſecutour *Maxentius?* Was not *Conſtantine Chriſts Champion*, as once that valiant *Scanderbeg* cald himſelfe againſt the bloudie *Turks?*

Warres for Religion.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, the *ſword* of *Civill power* was *Gods ſword* committed by *Gods* moſt wiſe *Providence* into the hands of that famous *Conſtantine:* Doubtles his warre was righteous and pious, ſo farre as he broke the *Jawes* of the *oppreſſing perſecuting Lyons* that devoured *Chriſts* tender *Lambes* and *ſheepe:* And famous was his Chriſtian *Edict* (wherein *Licinius* joyned with him) when he put forth that imperiall *Chriſtian* Decree, that no mans *Conſcience* ſhould be forced, and for his *Religion* (whether to the *Romane Gods*, or the *Chriſtian*) no man ſhould be perſecuted or hunted: When *Conſtantine* broke the bounds of

Conſtantines warres for the Chriſtians.

Conſtantines Edict againſt forcing in Religion.

of this his owne and *Gods Edict*, and drawes the *sword* of *Civill power* in the suppressing of other *Consciences* for the establishing of the *Christian*, then began the great *Mysterie* of the *Churches* sleepe, the *Gardens* of *Christs Churches* turned into the *Wildernesse* of *Nationall Religion*, and the *World* (under *Constantines* Dominion) to the most *unchristian Christendome.*

Never any true Nationall Religion in the World but one.

Peace. I am unquestionably satisfied, that there was never any *Nationall Religion* good in this *world* but one, and since the *Desolation* of that *Nation*, there was never, there shall be never any *Nationall Religion* good againe: and this will be most evident to such as hould the *Truth* of the *continuance* of *Christs visible Church* in the way of *particular Congregations.*

Touching *Pauls* blasphemy before his Conversion.

6. But now to the Sixt *Argument*, which Mr *Cotton* thus repeats from the *possibilitie* of a false *Teacher*, & a *spirituall Wolves* recoverie from the *estate* of a *soule-killer* to become a *soule-Saviour*, as it was in the case of *Paul:* And thus he answers; If men be such *Blasphemers*, and such *Wolves*, as *Paul* was before his *Conversion*, neither the *Law* of *God* nor *man* would put such a Man to death, who sinned of *Ignorance*, and walked (as himselfe professed) in all good *Conscience*, even in his former evill times, *Acts* 23. But as for such as *apostate* from the knowne truth of *Religion*, and seeke to *subvert* the *foundation* of it, and to draw away others from it, to plead for their *Tolleration* in hope of their *Conversion*, is as much as to proclaime a *generall pardon* to all *malefactours* (save onely such as sin against the *Holy Spirit*) *for he that is a willfull murtherer and adulterer now, may come to be converted, and die a martyr hereafter.*

Truth. I see not why Mr *Cotton* should passe a more charitable censure on *Pauls Conscience*, then on other Mens professing *Conscience* also and the feare of God: nor an harder *censure* upon other Men (to wit, that they are *convinced*, and sinne against their owne *Conscience*) more then upon *Paul* himselfe: Heard he not that famous powerfull *Sermon* of *Stephen?* Saw he not his glorious and most heavenly *Death?* and having so much to doe with the *Saints*, could he otherwise choose, but heare and see many heavenly *passages* tending to his soules *conviction?*

Of Apostates.

Peace. Yea why should Mr *Cotton* pinch upon *Apostates* from the truth of *Religion* and *Seducers?* he cannot choose but know how

how many thousands and *millions* of men and women in the world, are *Hereticall, Blasphemers, Seducers*, that never yet made profession of that which he accounteth *True Religion?*

True. Yea and (to plead thy case Deare *Peace*) why should Mr *Cotton* couple *Murtherers* and *Adulterers* with *Apostates* and *Seducers?* Doth not even the naturall *Conscience* and *Reason* of all men put a *Difference?* Doe not even the most bloudie *Popes* and *Cardinalls*, *Gardiners* and *Bonners*, put a difference between the *crimes* of *Murther*, *Treason*, *Adulterie* (for which although the offendour repent, &c. yet he suffers *punishment*) and the *crimes* of *Heresie*, *Blasphemie*, &c. which upon *Recantation* and *Confession*, are frequently remitted?

Fallacious mixture and confusion.

Peace. I remember it was high *Treason* in *H.* 8. his dayes to deny the *Kings spirituall Supremacie*, as well as to *kill* his *person*, and yet upon *Confession* and *Recantation* we finde, that the very *Conscience* of those bloudy men could distinguish between these *Treasons*.

Truth. 'Tis true this *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution* was lamentably *drunke* with *bloud* in the dayes of that *Henry*, as well as afterwards in the dayes of his *bloudie daughter Marie*, and yet in *Henry* his dayes we finde *John Haywood* recanting his (so cald) *Treason* against the *Kings Supreamacie* in *spirituall* things, and is cleared. When famous and faithfull *Cromwell*, for words pretended to be spoken by him against the *Kings person*, must pay his *noble Head*. But to End this Chapter, most true it is, that *multitudes* of people in all parts of *bloudie Christendome*, and not a few in *England* in *Henry* the 7. and *Henry* the 8. his dayes, have escaped with a *Recantation* and *Abjuration*, for *spirituall Treasons*, when *principles* of *Reason* and *Civill Government* have taught men, for their common safetie, to thinke of other *punishments* for Murtherers, *Adulterers*, *Traytours*.

Spirituall Treason recanted, forgiven: but not so (by way of course) the Civill.

An Instance from *Jo: Haywood* and the Lord *Cromwell* in King *Henry* the 8. his dayes.

Exam: of Chap. 73. *replying to* Chap. 76.

Discussing the *Testimonie* of *Optatus*.

Peace. MAster *Cotton* having alledged *Optatus*, justifying *Macarius* his putting *Hereticks* to Death, from the Example of *Moses*, *Phinehas*, and *Elijah*; it was answered, that

 these

these shafts were drawen not out of *Christs*, but *Moses* Quiver: Mr *Cotton* replyes; did ever any *Apostle* or *Evangelist* make the *Judiciall Lawes* of *Moses* concerning *Life* and *Death ceremoniall* and *typicall?*

Of *Moses* Judicialls.

Truth. What ever the Apostles of Christ did in this matter, yet sure it is Evident, that Mr *Cotton* himselfe makes some of *Moses Lawes*, which he calls *Judiciall*, to be but *ceremoniall* and *typicall.*

Peace. Me-thinks Mr *Cotton* should never grant that, who layes so much waight upon *Moses practices*, and the *morall* and *perpetuall ground* of them.

Truth. Well take for an Instance this very case of putting to Death, *Idolaters* and false *Prophets*, he grants this in this very "Chapter to be *typicall* in the State of the *Jewes*; for *Israell* "(sayth he) being the *Church* of *God*, and in Covenant with "*God*, their *Example* will onely extend to the like *Execution* "of all the false *Prophets* in the *Church* of *God.*

Peace. Such a *Candle* lighted up in the *Conscience* and *Judgement* and *Confession* of Mr *Cotton*, may (if the *Father* of *Lights* so please,) light up many *Candles* more, to Mr *Cottons* owne and the eyes of others.

Truth. Yea if the *Father* of *Lights* so please, Mr *Cotton* will looke back and see, that if the *Example* of *Israel* extend no further then to the *Church* of *God*, then those *Lawes* of *Moses* concerning *Religion*, cannot but be *typicall* and *ceremoniall*; for, what is *morall* and *perpetuall*, none can deny to concerne all Men in all *Nations*, where no *Church* or House of *God* was ever erected.

2. *Peace.* If Mr *Cotton* say it extends but to the *Church* of *God*, what *Church* of *God* can Mr *Cotton* meane, but a *particular Congregation* (for he professeth against *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, &c.) And yet how can he meane a *particular Church*, since he grants the *Church* of *Christ* armed with no other *weapons* then *spirituall*, like unto the *Head* and *King* thereof *Christ Jesus?*

The first three hundred years after Christ.

3. *Truth.* If Mr *Cotton* will grant the *Church* of *Christ* to have been extant upon Earth during the first *three hundred yeares* of her *fiery tryalls*, he must grant that then the *Church* of *Christ* was furnished by *Christ Jesus* with no other *weapons* but *spirituall*, for all the *Civill powers* of the World seemed to be against them.

All

All which time by Mr *Cottons Doctrine*, the *Church* of *Christ* his heavenly *Garden* must needs be over-growne with *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*, false *Prophets*, for want of a *Civill Sword*, &c. Or if they were not (as sure it is, the *Spouse* and *Garden* of *Christ* was never fairer since): As Mr *Cotton* grants the *Example typicall*, and extending onely to the *Church* of *God*, so must he then also grant these false *Prophets* and *Idolaters* to be put to Death by the *Churches power*, which is onely *spirituall*, and *Israels materiall Sword* will then appeare to be a *type* of the two-edged *sword* of *Christ Jesus* in the *Gospel*.

The Primitive Church the purest, and yet without a Civill Sword.

Peace. It is true (sayth Master *Cotton*,) what the Discusser sayth, that *Christ Jesus* gave no *Ordinance*, *Precept* or *President* in the *Gospel* for killing men for *Religion*, and no more (sayth he) for the *breach* of *Civill Justice*: *Civill Magistrates* therefore must either walke without *Rule*, or fetch their *Rules* of *Righteousnesse* from *Moses* and the *Prophets*, who have expounded him in the *Old Testament*.

Christ no Author of Civill violence for Religion.

Truth. If Mr *Cotton* please more awfully to observe & weigh the minde of *Christ Jesus* his *New Testament* in this point, he will not onely heare himselfe subscribing to *Cæsars Right* in *Civill matters*, but also by his servant *Peter* establishing all other formes of *Civill Government*, which the *peoples* or *Nations* of the *World* shall invent or *create* for their *civill being*, *Common-weale* or *wellfare*. Yea he may remember that *Christ Jesus* by his Servant *Paul* commandeth the *Magistrate*, to punish *Murther*, *Theft*, *Adulterie*, &c. for he expressly nameth these *Civill Transgressions* together with the *civill Sword* the *Avenger* of them, *Rom.* 13.

Peace. I cannot well conceive what Mr *Cotton* meanes by saying, that *Moses* and the *Prophets* expounded *Christ Jesus* in the *Old Testament*.

Truth. Nor I: They did speake or *prophecie* of *Christ*, they did *type* or *figure* him to come, with his *sufferings* and *Glory*, but (as *John* sayth) *Grace* and *Truth* came by *Jesus Christ*, that is, the fullfilling, opening, and *expounding* came by *Jesus Christ*.

Peace. Hence indeed I remember that *Christ Jesus* (Luc. 24.) expounded to his *Disciples*, out of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, the things written of him. But more particularly touching *Mo-*

ses: Macarius did well (ſayth Mr *Cotton*) in putting *Hereticks* to Death, from the *Example* of *Moſes* putting *Idolaters* to Death, *Exod* 32. and the *Idolater* to Death, *Levit.* 24.

The Levites killing 3000. *Exod.* 32. typicall.

Truth. Theſe *Inſtances* (by Mr *Cottons* Confeſſion) extend no further then the *Church* of *God*, and then I deſire my aboveſaid *Anſwer* may be uprightly weighed. And I adde the former *Inſtance* of putting Death the three thouſand *Iſraelites* about the *Goulden Calfe* by the hand of the *Levites*, may moſt lively ſeeme to *typifie*, the zealous *Execution* of *ſpirituall Juſtice* in (the *Iſrael* of *God*) the *Church* of *Chriſt*, by the true *Miniſters* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, the true *Antitype* of that zealous *Tribe* of *Levi*.

Phineas his Act.

Peace. Concerning *Phineas*, whereas it was ſaid that the ſlaying of the *Iſraelitiſh Prince* and Daughter of *Midian*, was not for *ſpirituall* but for *corporall filthineſſe*, Maſter *Cotton* anſwereth and urgeth the *Iſraelites* eating of their *Sacrifices*, and joyning to *Baal-peor*: Alſo that *ſingle Fornication* was no *capitall crime*.

Truth. It is moſt true, the people committed both *ſpirituall* and *corporall Filthines* (as very often they goe together) but the *Juſtice* of *God* reckoned with theſe two ſinners, for and in the midſt of their *corporall Filthines*, which although it were not *capitall* in *Iſraell*, yet the committing of it with ſo high an hand of *preſumption* (and *ſmall ſinnes* committed *preſumptuouſly* in *Iſraell* were Death) was enough to make it worthy of ſo ſharpe and ſudden a *Deſtruction*.

Peace. Concerning *Phineas* his act Mr *Cotton* acknowledgeth that it is no *preſident* for *Miniſters* of the *Goſpel* ſo to act, but withall ſayth it is *præſidentiall* for *Magiſtrates*.

Truth. Phineas his Act (whether of ordinarie or extraordinary *Juſtice*) how can it be *præſidentiall* to the *Civill Magiſtrate* in a *particular Church*, where the *weapons* are onely *ſpirituall?* And Mr *Cotton* grants theſe *Examples* extend no further then the *Church*: Such as maintaine a *Nationall Church* (which Mr *Cotton* doth not) have ſome colour to urge this *Example* for a *preſident*: for in a *civill State*, *civill Officers*, *civill Lawes*, *civill Weapons*, *civill puniſhments* and *rewards* are proper, as are alſo (and onely) *Spirituall Officers*, *ſpirituall Lawes*, *ſpirituall puniſhments* and *Rewards* in a *ſpirituall State*.

The ſpirituall & Civill State vaſtly different in their frame, Lawes, Officers, &c.

Peace.

Peace. Concerning *Eliah*, Mr *Cotton* excepteth against the number eight hundred and fiftie, as too many by halfe.

Truth. It is true, the number of *Baals Prophets* were foure hundred and fiftie (*false Prophets* enough to *one* poore *true*) but yet *Eliah* numbers *Jezabells* foure hundred trencher-*Chaplins* with them; for, sayth he, Now therefore send and gather unto me all *Israel* unto Mount *Carmel*, and the *Prophets* of *Baal* foure hundred and fiftie, and the *Prophets* of the *Grove* foure hundred, which eate at *Jezabells* Table. *Elijah* and the *Baalites.*

Peace. But how ever (sayth Mr *Cotton*) here was no *type* nor *Figure* for *Actions* of *morall Justice*, (though sometimes *extraordinary*) yet they are never *figurative*, but with such as turne all the *Scripture* into an *Allegorie*.

Truth. To make the *shadowes* of the *old Testament* and the *Substance* or *Body* of the *New*, all one, is but to confound and mingle *Heaven* and *Earth* together, for the *state* of the *Law* was *ceremoniall* and *figurative*, having a *worldly Tabernacle* with *vanishing* and *beggarly Rudiments*: And I believe it might not onely be said, that *Abrahams* lying with his handmaid *Hagar*, was an *Allegorie*, but that the whole *Church* of *Israell*, *Roote* and *Branch*, from first to last included *figurative* and *Allegoricall Kernells*, were the *Husks* and *Shells* disclosed with more humbly diligent and *spirituall teeth* and *fingers*. The typesand figures of the old Testament

Peace. I cannot but assent unto you, that to render the *old Testament Allegoricall* in an humble sobrietie, your *Instance* with many more give sufficient warrant.

Truth. Yet I adde (in answer to Mr *Cottons* charge of turning all *Scripture* into an *Allegorie*) that to deny the *Historie* of either *Old* or *New Testament*, or to render the *New Testament* (which expounds and fullfills the ancient *figures*) *Allegoricalls* are both *absurd* and *impious*.

Peace. But how (sayth Mr *Cotton*) can an *Act* of *morall righteousnesse* be *figurative*?

Truth. There is a *Fallacie* in this tearme [*morall Righteousnesse*] for Mr *Cotton* himselfe hath acknowledged a *Righteousnesse* two-fold; A *Spirituall Righteousnesse* of the *Church*, and a *civill* of the *Common-weale*: Mr *Cotton* also acknowledgeth *Israel* to be a *Typicall* people, their land a *typicall Land*, their *Ministry* and *Worship typicall*! How can Mr *Cotton* then deny, but that Righteousnes two fold. The state of *Israel* typicall.

that the *weapons* of this people, their *punishments* and *rewards*, &c. (so far as concerned this their mixed *figurative* and *typicall state*) were *figurative* and *ceremoniall* also? And so not parts of *morall civill Righteousnesse*, or common to all other Nations and peoples in the World.

Peace. I cannot readily assent to Mr *Cotton*, that *morall Actions* of *Civill Righteousnesse* could not be *figurative* with this *ceremoniall, typicall* and *figurative* people: for their *warre* it selfe (which if lawfull, is an *Act* of *civill morall Righteousnesse*) *Paul* seemes to make *figurative* of the *spirituall Warres* of the *Christian Israel* and *Church* of *God*.

Not only morall but naturall Actions of the *Israelites* typicall.

Truth. Yea and it is easie to observe that not onely their *spirituall Worship*, &c. not onely *Acts* of *morall* and *civill Righteousnesse* in *peace* and *warre*, &c. but even their very *naturall Actions* and *Excrements* (in *warres* against their *Enemies*) were *figurative* and *typicall*, full of *heavenly* and *spirituall Instruction*, which the *unbelieving Jewes* then saw not, but the *believing* saw, as they saw *Christ Jesus* in the *Sacrifices*, and all their *observations* leading to the blessed *Son* of *God*, the *Messiah*, the *Annointed*, or *Christ* to come, and his *Eternall Kingdome*.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* in the next place takes offence that the *Fact* of *Elijah* should be called *miraculous*, and askes if it be a *miracle* for *Elijah* with the aide of so many thousand *Israelites* to put to Death *foure hundred and fiftie men?*

Whether *Eliahs* procuring the slaughter of the *Baalites* was Typicall or Morall.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* mistakes the word, for the word is not *fact* but *passage*, which comprisseth not onely the *slaughter* of these their *Priests*, but the whole *matter* and *busines*, as the putting of the *Worship* of the true *God*, to the *Tryall* of *Fire* from *Heaven*, the descending of *Fire* from *Heaven*, the *devouring* of the *Sacrifice*, and *licking* up of so much *water*, and upon this so great a *number* of their *Priests* (the *Fathers*, *Shepheards*, and *Gods* of the people) so thunder-smitten as from *Heaven*, with so sudden and dreadfull a *slaughter*, what can these be but an *extraordinary Inspiration* in the *Prophet*, a *supernaturall descent* and *operation* of *Fire*, yea and an *extraordinary* and wonderfull *change* in the heart of the *People?* And I doubt not but Mr *Cotton* doth sometimes give an *heavenly* and *spirituall signification*, to all these *figurative* and *miraculous Mysteries*.

Peace. But I wonder at the next words; Though *Christ* (sayth

(ſayth he) gave no ſuch *Commiſſion* to *Miniſters* of the *Goſpel* to put *falſe Prophets* to Death, as *Elijah* did, yet the *Act* of *Dutie* was an *ordinary* dutie of *morall Righteouſneſſe*, belonging to ſuch as beare the *Sword*. Anon againe he writes ; This *Example* will not extend to the *Idolaters* of the *World*.

cc Firſt, Becauſe many thouſand thouſand of them are ex-
cc empt from the *civill Magiſtracie* of *Chriſtians*.
cc Secondly, They were never in *Covenant* with *God*, to whom
cc onely the *Law* of *Moſes* concerning the *puniſhment* of *Idolaters*
cc extended.
cc Thirdly, Though the *Iſraelites* were *Idolaters*, yet *Elijah*
cc ſpared them, becauſe of their *ſimplicitie* and *Ignorance*.

Truth. I anſwer, firſt, if *Chriſt Jeſus* gave no ſuch *Commiſſion* (as is confeſſed) then woe to all thoſe *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant Prieſts*, who have (by *theft*, or *flatterie*, or other evill *meanes*) got *Commiſſions* from the *Civill powers* of the *World*, whereby (to maintaine their own *honours*, and *profits* of *Biſhopricks* and *Benefices*, &c.) they ſmite with the *fiſt* and *ſword*, of *wickednes* : or under a *pretence* of *holy Orders* in themſelves, put over the *drudgery* of *Execution* to their enſlaved *Seculars* !

No Commiſſion from *Chriſt* for corporall puniſhment in religious matters.

Secondly, If theſe need no *Commiſſion*, becauſe to put to Death the *falſe Prophets* and *Idolaters*, is an *Act* of *morall Righteouſneſſe*, how agrees that *Poſition* and theſe three together.

Firſt, onely *Chriſtian Magiſtrates* (ſaid Mr *Cotton*) muſt act in theſe caſes.

Secondly, They muſt act againſt ſuch onely as are *Church-members*.

Thirdly, They muſt not act againſt ſuch *Church members* as commit *Idolatrie* out of *ſimplicitie* or *Ignorance*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, if it paſſe your *capacitie* to reconcile theſe in point of *Truth*, it muſt needs paſſe mine to ſee how ſuch *Doctrines* can ſtand with any *civill peace* or *order* in the world.

Truth. To affirme ſuch *Actions* to be ordinarie duties of *morall Righteouſneſſe*, belonging to ſuch as beare the *Sword*, and yet not to be practiced but by ſuch *Magiſtrates* as are moſt rarely found in the *World*, and on ſuch a *people* in ſuch an *Order* as is moſt rare in the *Nations* of the *World*, is to me all one, as to call all *Fathers* and *Maſters* in the *World* to ſuch *ordinary Duties* as belong to every *Father* and *Maſter* of a *Familie* : Or to call

Strange and monſtrous duties of Morall Righteouſneſſe.

Maſters

Masters and *Commanders* of *Ships* to such ordinary duties as belong to all *Masters* of *Ships* in the *World:* Or *Captaines* and *Commanders* in *Warre* to such *ordinarie Duties* as belong to all *Captaines* and *Commanders* in the *World*, and then at last to tell them: It is true, the *Duties* are *ordinary* and *common*, to all *Fathers*, *Masters*, *Commanders*, *Captaines*, but these *Duties* are to be performed onely by such *Fathers*, *Masters*, *Captaines* and *Commanders*, and in such *Families*, *Ships*, and *Armies* as are not ordinarie to be found in the *World*.

Peace. I see not but the *Similitude* doth fully reach, for indeed although such a people so and so in *Covenant* with *God*, according to Mr *Cotton*, were true *visible Churches* according to *Christs Institution*, and so consequently their *Magistrates* truely *Christian*, yet compare such *Magistrates* with the rest of the *Magistrates* of the *World*, who as lawfully beare the *Sword* as Themselves, and compare such a people so and so in *Church-Covenant*, with the rest of the people and *Nations* of the *World*, and we shall not finde them ordinary and *common*, but rather as six fingers, *wonders* and *monsters* to all other parts of the *World*, yea even to the very *Popish* and *Protestant* parts of the *World* also.

Gods children are wonders and monsters accounted.

But to end this Chapter; The other fact of *Elijah* in slaying the *Captaines* with their fifties, Mr *Cotton* acknowledgeth not to be alledged by any other *Authour* in this *Controversie*, but onely by the Discusser, to make himselfe work in such *Cobweb-Evasions*.

Elijah his slaying the Captaines and their fifties.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* forgetteth, for *Elijah* his *Act* (from *Luc. 9.*) hath been mentioned by others, and answered too by Master *Cotton* in this present Booke and *Controversie*. And for the *Cob-webs*, let the poore *Witnesses* of *Christ* be esteemed as *Spiders*, and their *Testimonie* and *Witnes* but as *Cob-webs*, yet let them not be discouraged, but lay hould (like *Solomons Spider*) with the hand of *spirituall Diligence*, and let all such their *heavenly Cob-webs* be in *Kings Pallaces*. And let them know their *Cob-webs* be of such a *strength*, that how ever the *cruell Beezome* of *persecution* may sweepe them downe, out of this *World*, yet in point of *Truth* and true *Christian power* and *worth*, neither *Pope* nor *Prelate*, neither *Presbyterian*, nor *Independent persecutour*, nor *Baalzebub* himselfe (the *God* of *Flies*) shall ever be able to sweepe them downe, or breake through them.

Wondersfull Spiders and Cobwebs. *Prov. 30.*

Exam:

Exam: of Chap. 74. *and* 75. *replying to* Chap. 77. *and* 78.

Peace. IN Chap. 74. One passage cannot be past by, to wit, [God hath laid this charge upon *Magistrates* in the *Old Testament* to punish *Seducers*, and the *Lord Jesus* never tooke off this *Charge* in the *New Testament : Who is this Discusser, that he should account Paul himselfe, or an Angel from Heaven accursed, that should leave this Charge upon Magistrates, which God laid on, and Christ never tooke off ?*]

Touching Seducers, and their punishments.

Truth. This is but a *Repetition* of what hath formerly been examined : unto which therefore I briefly say, It will never be found true, that *God* hath laid this charge upon all *Magistrates* in the *World*, as he did upon the *Magistrates* in *Israel*, to punish *Seducers*.

Secondly, *God* laying this charge upon the *Governours* and *Magistrates* in *Israel*, the *Church* of *God* (in the *type*) lays it still upon *Christ Jesus* and his *Governours spirituall* under him in his *spirituall Israel*, which *Kingdome* he administreth, with *Lawes*, *Punishments* and *Weapons Spirituall*. All this Mr *Cotton* in this Controversie hath acknowledged.

Thirdly, When he saith, *Christ Jesus* never tooke off this Charge.

First, I answer, let that *Parable* which he mentioneth be the *Tryall* of it in the feare of *God*.

Secondly, *God* having now in these last times declared his will by his *Sonne :* Where hath his *blessed Sonne* spoken to us, to build no more *Temples*, to erect no more *Altars*, to offer no more *Sacrifices ?* And yet these and the whole *frame* of that *typicall State* we justly *abrogate*, both from the words of *Christ* and his first *Messengers*, which are plaine and easie enough to such whose eyes it pleaseth *God* to open, although (in expresse Tearmes) *Christ Jesus* hath not given an expresse *Catalogue* of all such *particulars* to be abolished.

Christ Jesus abolished former figures, though he name not each of them in particular.

Peace. In the next passage Mr *Cotton* deeply chargeth the poore Discusser with *partialitie* & *falshood* ; upon which *Grounds* he turnes off all the *Consequences*, which the Discusser observed to follow upon Mr *Cottons Conclusions*.

Truth. It is true, the *Authour* of the *Letter* expresseth *Liber-*

tie of *Conſcience* to ſuch as feare *God* indeed: Mr *Cotton* ſubſcribes, but preſently razeth out his *Subſcription* in theſe words following, which he hath againe now reprinted, to wit, "But the Queſtion is whether an *Heretick* after once or twice "*Admonition* (and ſo after *Conviction*) and any other *ſcandalous* "and hainous *offendour*, may be tollerated, either in the "*Church* without *Excommunication*, or in the *Common-weale* "without ſuch *puniſhment*, as may preſerve others from dange-"rous and damnable *Infection*.

The Myſterie of the Bloudy Tenent.

Peace. Who ſees not but this *bloudie Tenent* (I meane theſe words now recited) doth not onely reſtraine *Libertie* of *Conſcience* to ſuch as feare *God* indeed, and ſpeakes *fire* and *fagot* to all the *world* beſide: But alſo (under the name of *Heretick* and *Seducer*) throwes into the *Furnace* (moſt commonly and ordinarily) all ſuch as feare *God* (*Chriſt Jeſus* and his *Meſſengers* and *Miniſters* not excepted) who have alwayes been and are accounted, the chiefeſt *Hereticks*, *Blaſphemers*, *Deceivers* and *Seducers* in this World?

The bloudie conſequences of the bloudy Tenent.

Truth. I adde the *Conſequences* therefore remaine good, that either All the *Inhabitants* of the World muſt come into the *eſtate* of men *fearing God*: Or elſe *diſſemble Religion*, and fearing *God*, in *hypocriſie*: Or elſe, be driven out of the World. Then alſo the *Civill State* muſt judge of the *Spirituall*, and of *Magiſtrates* fearing or not fearing God: The *People* muſt judge (I ſay) who feare *God indeed*, and are by them to be *permitted*, and who are the *Hereticks*, and to be *puniſhed*, which who may not ſee to be the driving of the *world* out of it ſelfe, and the bloudie routing up of all Societies of Men?

The ſad Effects of the bloudie Tenent on Mr *Cottons* owne Spirit.

Peace. This charge of *partialitie* and *falſhood*, you have (Deare *Truth*) to my underſtanding ſhielded the poore Diſcuſſer from, Can you now helpe his *Forehead*, and his *Heart*, which Mr *Cotton* in the next paſſage chargeth with another *notorious* and *impudent falſhood*, in relating out of a printed booke an *Anſwer* of the *New Engliſh Miniſters* to *Queſtions* ſent unto them from their *Brethren* in *old*, which anſwer Mr *Cotton* ſayth he cannot finde.

Truth. So much *Gall* and *Vinegar* hath Mr *Cotton* powred forth in this whole paſſage from the firſt to the laſt of it, that no ſober minded man fearing *God*, and knowing Mr *Cottons* former

former temper of *Spirit*, but will confesse two things:

First, that this *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution* hath infected and inflamed his very *naturall Temper* and former sweet peaceable disposition.

A lamentable Character of the change of Mr *Cottons* Spirit.

Secondly, his *Eye* (being thus *bloudshot*) is so weakened in its former (and otherwise excellent sight) that it now questions no *Difference* between the *Mountaines* and the *Molehills*, for at the *worst*, in *common probabilitie of Reason*, there can be but a mistake in the Discusser concerning this passage.

Peace. If the Discusser have no sparke of the *feare* of *God*, yet if but *common civilitie* and *honestie*, or least respect of *common credit* among men, it were impossible for him to forge so grossely in *matters* lately *printed*, publike and obvious to every eye.

Truth. The truth is, whether there be different *Editions* or different *Copies* printed, let Mr *Cotton* and whom it concerns take care of it, for the Discusser is confidently resolved that if this passage (for the *substance* of it) be not *printed* and to be read in *print* of all men, in their *names*, he will then willingly beare and lye under the charge of a false *forehead* and *heart*, which Mr *Cotton* in such heate and anger imputes unto him.

Exam: of Chap. *76. replying to* Chap. *79.*

Peace. IN this short Chapter the Discusser is charged with *Ignorance* and *uncharitablenes*, for thinking amisse of the *Penmen* of the *Answer* to the *Questions*, to wit, that he should conceive that the *passage* to *New England* should change the *Judgement* or *Consciences* of *Men*.

Truth. The Discusser professeth (and I know in truth) to bewaile his *Ignorance* and *uncharitablenes*, yet upon a second review of the words, it will be found there was not an *Imputation* of such a *conceit*, to those worthy *Authors*, or any man, but an *Item* unto all men, occasioned by the *Confidence* expressed, that they doubted not, but those godly brethren of *old England* should agree with them here in *New*, if they were in *New England* together. This *Item* or *Caveat* will appeare to be

given, not by way of positive *Charge*, nor in the least derogating from the holy and blessed use of free and humble *Conference*, but to take off the *Edge* of such *Confidence* of agreeing in *New England*, when the *Differences* of *Gods* people have been and are yet so great in *Old* and *New*, and so many *Conferences* and *Disputations* of *Truth* and *Peace* have not yet raised that blessed *Agreement* of which the *Answer* to the *Questions* would make no doubt.

Differences of Gods own children in *Old* and *New England*.

Peace. Me-thinkes there should be little hope of their comming to *New-England* when the *New-English Ministers* had got the *Advantage* of the higher *ground*, and *Carnall Sword* for their *Religion* to Friend, and had exprest their *Judgement* of their conceiving it not safe, that, (if they should not agree,) their severall wayes of *Worshipping God*, should be permitted in one *Common-weale*.

Truth. Yea and I believe still the *Consequence* was truely gathered by the Discusser (how ever Mr *Cotton* hath so charged his *Forehead* and *Heart* for it) to wit, That the *New English Ministers* could not (as their *Conscience* stood) advise the *Magistrates* of *New-England* to permit that which their *Consciences* and *Judgements* taught them was not safe, &c.

Peace. These passages occasion me to remember a serious *Question* which many fearing *God* have made, to wit, Whether the promise of *Gods Spirit*, blessing *Conferences*, be so comfortably to be Expected in *New-England*, because of those many *publike sinnes* which most of *Gods people* in *New-England* lye under, and one especially, to wit, the framing a *Gospel* or *Christ* to themselves without a *crosse*, not *professing* nor *practicing* that in *Old* (except of late in times of *Libertie*) which they professedly come over to enjoy with *Peace* and *Libertie* from any *crosse* of *Christ* in *New*.

Profession of Christ Jesus in *New-England*, not so like to be true as that (which was persecuted) in *Old*.

Truth. I know those thoughts have deeply possessed, not a few, considering also the *sinne* of the *Pattents*, wherein *Christian Kings* (so calld) are invested with Right by virtue of their *Christianitie*, to take and give away the *Lands* and *Countries* of other men; As also considering, the *unchristian Oaths* swallowed downe, at their comming forth from *old England*, especially in superstitious *Laud* his time and domineering.

The great sin of *New-Englands* former Pattents.

And I know these thoughts so deeply afflicted the Soule and Con-

Conſcience of the Diſcuſſer in the time of his Walking in the Way of *New Englands Worſhip*, that at laſt he came to a perſwaſion, that ſuch ſinnes could not be *Expiated*, without returning againe into *England*: or a publike acknowledgement and Confeſſion of the Evill of ſo and ſo departing: To this purpoſe before his *Troubles* and *Baniſhment*, he drew up a Letter (not without the *Approbation* of ſome of the *Chiefe* of *New-England*, then tender alſo upon this point before *God*) directed unto the *King* himſelfe, humbly acknowledging the *Evill* of that part of the *Pattent* which reſpects the *Donation* of *Land*, &c.

The Authours tryalls about the Pattents of *New-England*.

This *Letter* and other *Endeavours* (tending to waſh off *publike ſinnes*, to give warning to others, and above all, to *pacifie* and to give *Glory* unto *God*) it may be that *Councell* from *Fleſh* and *Bloud* ſuppreſt, and *Worldly policie* at laſt prevailed: for this very cauſe (amongſt others afterward re-examined) to baniſh the Diſcuſſer from ſuch their *Coaſts* and *Territories*.

Peace. But from *Violence* to the Diſcuſſer, or any other, Mr *Cotton* (in the next paſſage) proteſts his *Innocencie*, and inſinuates the Diſcuſſer to be no other then (a *Devill*) an *Accuſer* of the *Brethren*, for imputing to them any ſuch Evill, &c.

Truth. He that reads how hard the *Heart* of holy *David* grew, in the ſinne of *Whoredome* and *Murther*, untill the *Lord* awakened him, will leſſe wonder, that *Spirituall Whoredome* and *murtherous violence*, may poſſeſſe the *Heart* of *Gods Davids* and holieſt Servants now, and that without bluſh, or ſhame, or leaſt appearance of *Relenting*: Doth not all this whole *Traverſe* of Mr *Cotton* maintaine a *perſecution* even unto Death, of ſuch whom the *Civill State* ſhall judge *Hereticks*, *Blaſphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, &c.

Gods children may be guilty of bloudy perſecution for the hiding of their ſpirituall uncleanneſſe.

Doth not this very Chapter expreſſely juſtifie *perſecution* upon the *Subverters* of the *Chriſtian Faith*, obſtinate after *Convition?* upon *Blaſphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers?* And is Mr *Cotton* not informed, what ſucceſſe his *Doctrine* hath had, that (if a *merciſull God* had not prevented) not *Courting*, nor *Fining*, nor *Impriſoning*, nor *Whipping*, nor *Baniſhing* had been *puniſhment* ſufficient, to men and women, for cauſe of *Conſcience* in *New-England*, but even Death it ſelfe, (according to the *Principles* of *perſecution*) had been inflicted.

Gods mercy in ſtopping *New-Englands* perſecution, by the mercy of *old England*, the mother to diſſenting Conſciences.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* will urge that *Gods* people will not be ſuch *Hereticks*, &c.

Truth.

Truth. I might urge Mr *Cottons* owne grant of such sinnes in *Gods* owne people, for which they may be justly *Excommunicated*; but I will rather produce an *Instance* in our Nation of *England.* None fearing *God* will easily deny the Eminent Godlines of *Cranmer* & *Cromwell* in King *Henry* the eight his dayes; At that very time when King *Henry* himselfe disputed in so famous an *Assembly* against the blessed *witnesse* of *Christ Jesus*, *John Lambert!* Finde we not also holy *Cranmer* disputing before the *King* and that *Stately Assembly*, against this poore Servant of *God*, for that horrible and monstrous *Idoll* of *Transubstantiation?*

Holy *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* joyning with persecutours of Christ Jesus out of great weaknes in *H.* 8. his dayes.

Peace. Finde we not then also holy and zealous *Cromwell* (at the *Kings command*) reading that bloudie *Sentence* of Death against that blessed Lambe of *Christ Jesus*, who was thus worried to Death, not onely by the bloudie *Wolves* the *Bishops*, but even by those holy *Lambes* of *Christ*, *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* also!

Truth. This was that blessed *Lambert*, a true *Follower* of the *Lambe* of *God Christ Jesus*, who cryed out in the midst of the *Flames*, None but *Christ*, None but *Christ*: and well might he so cry: Not *Cranmer*, not *Cromwell*, who after so much *Light* in *Disputations*, yet persisted in their *Heresie* and *Idolatry*, and partaking with *violence* against this holy man, that he might well cry out, *None but Christ*, *None but Christ.*

The most famous passages of *Cromwell* & *Lambert* in *H.* the 8. his dayes.

Exam: of Chap. 77. *replying to* Chap. 80.

Peace. As it is (Deare *Truth*) oftentimes in *Journies*, the *worst way* and *saddest weather* attends the *Journies End*: So here Mr *Cotton* (neere our close) chargeth upon the Discusser a threefold *wresting* of his words, and accordingly so much *false-dealing.*

Truth. It is sad on the Discussers part, if this be done by him, either by a *willfull* or a *negligent* hand.

Peace. Yea and it is sad on Mr *Cottons* part, if the *Charge* be not *reall* and *substantiall.*

Truth. Mr *Cotton* acknowledgeth his words to be these [The *Godly* will not persist in *Heresie* or turbulent *Schisme*, when

when they are *convinced* in *Conſcience* of the *ſinfullneſſe* of their way] The firſt charge therefore againſt the Diſcuſſer is that he confoundeth *Admonition* with *Conviction*, for (ſaith Mr *Cotton*) *Admonition* ought not to be diſpenced, untill the *offendour* be *convinced* in his own *Conſcience* of the *ſinfullneſſe* of his Way.

Truth. For anſwer hereunto the Diſcuſſer to my knowledge humbly appealeth to the *Searcher* of all *Hearts*, that he hath not *willingly* nor *wittingly* falſified Mr *Cottons* words in a *tearme* or *ſyllable*. And indeed whether he hath wronged him at all, or be not rather unjuſtly trampled under the feete of weake and *paſſionate charges*, the Diſcuſſer appealeth to Mr *Cottons* owne *Conſcience*, awaked (if *God* ſo pleaſe) out of this *bloudie Dreame.*

Peace. Yea but (ſayth Mr *Cotton*) *Admonition* is one thing, and *Conviction* in their owne *Conſcience* is another; for though ſayth he, *Admonition ought not to be diſpenced till after Conviction*, yet it may fall *out that the Church* (through miſtake) *proceedeth to Admonition* before the *offendour be convinced* in his own *Conſcience of the ſinfulneſſe* of his Way. Of Admonition and Conviction.

Truth. Paſſing gently by the want of *Equitie* in Mr *Cotton* to the Diſcuſſer, in condemning him of *falſhood*, for taking *Admonition* for *Conviction*, when he makes it but a *miſtake* in the *Church* to practice the one for, or before the other:

I anſwer, I know not that ſutable *Diſtinction* between *Admonition* and *Conviction*, as Mr *Cotton* carrieth it, ſaying, that how ever the *Church* may through miſtake practice *Admonition* before *Conviction*, yet *Admonition* ought not to proceede, untill after *Conviction* in a mans owne *Conſcience*, for finde we not the words of *Reprooving*, *Rebuking*, *Admoniſhing*, *Exhorting* a brother, indifferently uſed both in the *Old* and *New Teſtament?* And doth not that very word ἐλεγξον (*Matth.* 18. Reprove him) imply *Convviction* as well as *Reproofe* or *Admonition*, for doth it not ſignifie *Convincingly* reprove him?

Peace. I have heard indeed, that *Conviction* is twofold: Conviction two-fold.

Firſt, *Externall* and *legall* before men in *Civill* or *Spirituall Judicature.*

Secondly, *Effectuall* and inward in the *Court* of a mans own *Conſcience* before *God*, which internall, alwayes followes not the *Externall.*

Truth.

Truth. No, ſuch *Externall Conviction* may be *legall* before men, but not in the ſight of *God*, and a mans owne *Conſcience*, as we ſee in the caſe of *Naboth*, who was legally convict of *Blaſphemy*, when acquitted by *God* and his owne *Conſcience*: As alſo in thoſe *Conſciences* (of which *Paul* ſpeakes) ſeared with hot irons, which *Conſciences* (notwithſtanding the abundance of *Light* from heaven *convincing*, yet) are not brought from believing *Lyes*.

Of Conviction of Hereticks.

Peace. Yea, but it ſeemes by Mr *Cottons words*, that the *Church*, that is, (according to his way) the *Major* part of the *Church* muſt judge that the *Heretick* is convinced in his own *Conſcience* of the *ſinfullneſſe* of his way before ſhe proceedeth to *Admonition*.

Truth. For my part I cannot *reconcile* theſe three *Propoſitions*, comprized by Mr *Cotton* in theſe few lines.

Firſt, the *Godly* will not perſiſt in *Hereſie*, or turbulent *Schiſme*, when they are convinced in *Conſcience* of the ſinfullneſſe thereof.

Secondly, The *Church* is to judge of the *Conviction* of ſuch a *Godly* mans *Conſcience*.

Thirdly, Although ſuch a *Godly* man be convinced of the *ſinfulneſſe* of his way, yea although he will not perſiſt in *Hereſie* or turbulent *Schiſme*, when he is thus *convinced* in *Conſcience* of the ſinfulneſſe thereof, yet then is the *Church* to proceede to *Admonition*. For thus he ſayth, *Admonition* ought not to be diſpenced till after *Conviction*.

Conviction ſufficient, externall by the word, and efficient internall by Gods Spirit.

Peace. If Mr *Cotton* ſpake of the firſt *Conviction*, to wit, the *Externall*, I could ſubſcribe, but now ſpeaking of that *internall* in a mans owne *Conſcience*, I ſee it pleaſeth *God*, moſt holy and onely wiſe to permit the beſt and wiſeſt of his Servants, to intrap, intangle, and bewilder themſelves, that they may learne to confeſſe him onely and infinitly wiſe, and be more humble in themſelves, as *fooles* and *lyars*, and leſſe bitter in their Judgements and Cenſures on the poore *Underlings* and *Outcaſts*.

Truth. O that Mr *Cotton*, who grants the *Godly* may fall into ſuch fowle ſinnes of *Hereſie* and *Schiſme*, may alſo be godly jealous over himſelfe and others fearing *God* in *old* or *New England*, that alſo poſſibly they may fall, into the very ſinne of *perſecuting* the Sonne of *God* himſelfe, eſpecially ſince it is the

Lot of *Christ Jesus* (beyond all compare) both in *Himselfe* and his *Followers*, to be accounted the greatest *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer* and *Deceiver*.

Christ Jesus (accounted) the greatest Heretick, Blasphemer, Seducer, and Deceiver that ever was in this world.

Peace. To the second and third Charge Mr *Cotton* complains of false dealing, in that the Discusser should render his *words*, as if he charged such to be *obstinate persons*, that yeelded not to once or twice *Admonition*, and that for every *Errour*, when he speakes onely of persisting in *Heresie*, or turbulent *Schisme*.

Truth. For answer, let Mr *Cottons Conclusions* in the beginning of this Booke be remembred. Wherein he maintaines that a *Man* of an *Erroneous* and blind *Conscience* in *Fundamentall* and *weighty points*, and persisting in the *Errour* of his way, is not persecuted for cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*. Whence it followes that the *Civill Courts* of the *World* must judge : whether the *matter* be *fundamentall* and *waighty :* whether the partie have been rightly once and twice *admonished :* and whether he persist in the *Errour* of his *Way :* that is, whether he be *obstinate* after such *Admonition*, and must then be *persecuted*, though (as the *Conclusion* wofully concludeth) not for cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*.

Peace. Yea but the Discusser (sayth Mr *Cotton*) dealeth falsly, in carrying my words, as if I had said, that *Godly persons* in whatsoever *Errour* they hould, if they yeeld not to once or twice *Admonition*, they must needs be *obstinate :* whereas (he saith) he speakes not of every *Errour*, but of persisting in *Heresie* and *turbulent Schisme*.

Truth. The Discusser did not so say, or so carry it as Mr *Cotton* insinuates, but this he saith, that even in the place of *Righteousnesse* and *Judgement* (as *Salomon* saith) *Iniquitie*, and such *Iniquitie* (in all *civill Courts* of the *World*, and in all *Ages* of the *World*) usually hath been found, that as in multiplying glasses a *Flea* is made an *Elephant*, &c. So the *poore witnesses* of *Christ* have been *proclaimed* and *persecuted* for *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c. not onely for not houlding the *Popes Transubstantiation*, *Auricular Confession*, *Purgatorie*, and those waightier points of the *Beasts worship :* but *reading* a piece of a Lease of *Scripture* or any *good booke* is *Heresie :* Eating a piece of Flesh in *Lent*, yea the slight breaches of the smallest *Traditions* of the

Small matters accounted Heresies.

Elders and *State Worships*, accounted *Heresie*, *Blasphemie*, &c.

Peace. Hence was it I think, that the *Naturalist* could tell us in the *Fable* of the *Fox* and the *Lyon*, that the *Fox* ran not away in vaine upon the *Proclamation* of the departure of all *horned Beasts*, as knowing that if the *bloudie persecutours* of the *World* shall say, the *plainest Ears* are *hornes* (that is, the *smallest Errours*, yea the *plainest Truths* are *Heresies*) it is in vaine for any *Innocent* to plead they are but *Eares*, &c.

The barbarous usage of *John Hus* in the Councell at *Constance.*

Truth. Yea hence it was that in that famous, or rather most infamous *Councell* of *Constance*, the blessed *Servant* and *witnes* of *Christ Jesus*, *John Hus*, was as it were stobd to Death (before his burning) with tearmes of *Heresie*, *Heretick*, *Heresiarck*, yea though he held as the *Pope* and the *Councell* held, even in those points for which they condemned him, because (beside their hatred of his *Holines*, witnessing against their *Filthines*) themselves would say from his *writings*, that he did hould so and so against their *Popish Tenents*, which he himselfe profest he never did.

Peace. In the next place (Deare *Truth*) are two Passages related by the Discusser from *New England.* To which Mr *Cotton* gives no credit.

2. He sayth, If such words were spoken, they might be spoken upon such *waights* as might hould *waight*, &c.

Truth. For the Stories and the Discussers mistakes (willing *mistakes*, as Mr *Cotton* seemes to insinuate) I know the Discusser humbly desires like a true *Traveller* to his heavenly *Countrey*, to heare of, and see and acknowledge, and forsake every *false path* and *step* (by the helpe of *Christ*) that the pooreſt *childe*, though but a *naked Pagan* shall hint him of : But why should the *Stories* seeme incredible that suite so wofully fit with the *Common Tenents ?*

Peace. It may be Mr *Cotton* will not believe it, nor approve it : But there are not two, but ten witnesses, to testifie such *Stories*, were it seasonable to relate and inlarge such *particulars.*

Truth. Let Mr *Cotton* then please to understand (to passe by particular names of the former *Stories*, which are ready to be declared to any *charitable* and *loving Enquirie*) that his *bloudie Tenent* is a bitter *Roote* of many *bitter branches*, not onely bitter

to

to *spirituall tasts*, but even to the taſt of *Civilitie* and *Humanitie* it ſelfe. But ſince the names of perſons are ſo deſired, I ſhall relate (not out of any perſonall diſreſpect to Mr *Streete* and the *people* of *Cohannet*, *aliàs Taunton*, my loving friends) what many teſtifie, that the ſaid (reputed) *Miniſter* Mr *Streete*, publikely and earneſtly perſwaded his *Church-members* to give Land to none but ſuch, as might be fit for *Church-members*: yea not to receive ſuch *Engliſh* into the *Towne*, or if in the *Towne*, yet not to Land, that if they lived in the *Towne* or place, yet they might be knowne to be but as *Gibeonites*, *hewers* of wood, and *drawers* of water for the ſervice of them that were of the *Church*.

The *bloudie Tenent* deſtroying civilitie and humane Societie out of the World.

Peace. I know what *troubleſome Effects* followed in the ſame place, and what *Breaches* of *Civill* and *humane Societie?* What *Departures* of divers, and *Barres* to the *comming* of others, to the *ſpoile* and *hindrance* of a moſt likely and growing *Plantation*.

But to proceede (Deare *Truth*) you cannot more faithfully and carefully labour to diſcharge the Diſcuſſer of *falſhoods*, then Mr *Cotton* endeavours to lay them on: For to the former three, behould in the next paſſage foure more.

"For, firſt the Diſcuſſer is charged to report Mr *Cotton* as ex-
"preſſing Confidence in this cauſe, which Mr *Cotton* ſayth he
"expreſſed not.

"Secondly, He reports Mr *Cotton* to ſay, that he (to wit,
"Mr *Cotton*) had removed the *grounds* of this *Errour*, whereas Mr
"*Cotton* (ſaith he) ſaid not ſo, but that he had ſpoken ſo much
"for that *End*.

"Thirdly, He foiſteth in the name of *great Errour*, which
"though it be ſo, yet Mr *Cotton* did not ſo *ſtile* it.

"Fourthly, That Mr *Cotton* ſhould conclude, that to be a
"great *Errour*, that *perſons* are not to be *perſecuted* for *cauſe* of
"*Conſcience*, when he ſtates the *Queſtion* ſo, that none ought to
"be *perſecuted* at all for *cauſe* of *Conſcience*, but for ſinning a-
"gainſt their *Conſcience*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, he that hath a minde to beate a *Dog*, will ſoone finde a cudgell, &c. If Mr *Cotton* had not eſteemed the Diſcuſſer as a *Dog*, and had not had as great a minde as a *Dog* to uſe him, he would never have ſo catcht at every *line* and *word*, to finde out (ſuch) the Diſcuſſers *Lyes* and *Falſhoods*.

For, first, it is apparant that the Discusser here undertooke not to repeate Mr *Cottons* words, but upon such and such words of Mr *Cottons* (compared with all former *Agitations*) to collect according to his *understanding* such a *Conclusion.*

All Men are confident in their owne opinions.

Peace. But whether he hath rightly and without breach of *Truth* or *Love* so and so collected, let it be (briefly) in the feare of God *examined.*

Truth. First then, hath not Mr *Cotton* through all this discourse, expreſt a *Confidence* (some have called it *imperious* and *insulting*) against the poore *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers?* And doe not these words [for avoyding the grounds of your *Errour*] import so much?

Secondly, Doth not Mr *Cottons* words imply that in his *opinion* such a *Tenent* is an *Errour*, and that by speaking so much against it, he hath removed it, what ever his *opponent* thinks to the contrary?

Thirdly, Why may not the Discusser, or any man say, that Mr *Cotton* counts that a great *Errour*, which Mr *Cotton* endeavours so to represent to all men?

Peace. But the fourth (sayth Mr *Cotton*) is an evident *falshood* in the Discusser to say, that Mr *Cotton* should conclude this to be the great *Errour*, that *persons* are not to be *persecuted* for *cause* of *Conscience.*

Truth. The Father of Lights hath of late been graciously pleased to open the *eyes* of not a few of his *servants* to see that Mr *Cottons Distinction* [of not *persecuting* a man for his *Conscience*, but for *sinning* against his *Conscience*] is but a *Figleafe* to hide the *nakednes* of that *bloudie Tenent*, for, the *Civill Court* must then judge when a man sinnes against his *Conscience*, or els he must take it from the *Cleargie* upon trust, that the poore reputed *Heretick* doth so sinne.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* adds that it is an *Aggravation* of sinne to hould or practice *Evill* out of *Conscience.*

The persecutour of *Turks*, *Pagans*, *Jewes*, or *Antichristians*, is in a greater errour then any of them.

Truth. True, but I also aske, Doth not that *persecutour* that hunts or *persecuteth* a *Turke*, a *Jew*, a *Pagan*, an *Antichristian* (under pretence that this *Pagan*, this *Turke*, this *Jew*, this *Antichristian* sins against his owne *Conscience*,) doth not this *persecutour*, I say, hould a greater *Errour* then any of the foure, because he hardens such *Consciences* in their *Errours* by such his

perse-

persecution, and that also to the overthrowing of the *civill* and *humane Societie* of the *Nations* of the *World*, in point of *civill peace?*

Peace. Well you may (deare *Truth*) enjoy your owne holy and *peaceable Thoughts*, but Mr *Cotton* ends this Chapter with hope that the reputed *bloudie Tenent*, appeares now *whited* in the *bloud* of the *Lambe*, and tends to save *Christs sheepe* from *devouring*, to defend *Christs truth*, and to maintaine and preserve *peace* in *Church* and *Common-weale*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, that which hath in all Ages powred out the *precious bloud* of the *Sonne* of *God*, in the *bloud* of his poore *sheepe*, shall never be found *whited* (as Mr *Cotton* insinuates) in the *bloud* of this most heavenly *Shepheard:* That which hath maintained the *workes* of *Darknes* 1600 *yeares* under the *bloudie Romane Emperours*, and more *bloudie Romane Popes*, hath never tended to destroy, but build and fortifie such *hellish workes*. That which all Experience (since *Christs* time) hath shewen to be the great *Fire-brand* or *Incendiarie* of the *Nations*, hath powred out so many *Rivers* of *bloud* about *Religion*, and that amongst the (so called) *Christian Nations*. That *Tenent*, I say, will never be found a *preserver*, but a *bloudie destroyer* both of *Spirituall* and *civill peace*.

The bloudie Fruits of the *bloudie Tenent*.

Exam: of Chap. 78. *replying to* Chap. 81.

Peace. WE are now (Deare *Truth*) through the *mercie* of the *Father* of *mercies*, arrived, at the last Chapter of this *Sorrowfull Agitation*: Mr *Cotton* finds nothing in this worth the while to speake to: yet thinks he it good to finde time to blame the Discusser for selfe-*Applauses*, vaine-glorious *Triumph*, and *confident perswasion*, which before he had noted Mr *Cotton* for.

Touching confidence in opinions.

Truth. That which was noted in Mr *Cotton* was not meerly a *perswasion* or *confidence*, but indeed an *imperious* and *insulting confidence*, over the *poore* and *oppressed*, and an adding of *Vinegar* to the *Gall* of the *Sonne* of *God*, *persecuted* in his poore *Saints* and *Members*.

Peace.

Peace. But may there not seeme to be too in the Discusser, too great a *confidence* of the *converting* and turning of the *bloudie Storme* of *Warres* about *Conscience*, into mercifull *calmes* of *peace*, and of the returne of *Christs dove*, with *Olive branches* of *civill peace?*

Freedome of Conscience hath ever been a Peace-maker in all Natiōs where it hath appeared.

Truth. Then let thousands and ten thousands, *French*, *Polonians*, *Hungarians*, *Transilvanians*, *Bohemians*, *Netherlanders*, and others, and now at last (through Gods gracious smiling upon this holy *Truth* of his) I say, many thousand *English* men set to their *seale* and *witnes*, to wit, that *Freedome* to the *Consciences* of men, (from all other but *spirituall opposition*) hath stuck many *Millions* of *Browes* and *Houses* with *Olive branches*, that were before beblubbered and overwhelmed with teares and bloud.

And especially at this houre in *England*.

Peace. I cannot but confidently see and say, that doubtles, had not the *prudent* and *zealous care* of *Englands Parliament* and *Armie* subscribed to this blessed meanes of *peace*, restored to *Lands* and *Countries embroyled* in *bloudie civill Warres* about *Religion*, doubtles, the *streame* of *Warre* which hath run so long with *bloud* between the *Prelates* and the *Puritans* (so calld) had run as fresh and furious in all devouring *flames* between the *Presbyterians* and the *Independents*.

Truth. Oh blessed be the *God* of *peace*, who hath more pitie upon the *unpeaceable Sonnes* of *Men*, then they have on Themselves.

How Christ delights in bloud.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* in the next place addeth, that one passage he may not let passe, because the name of *Christ* is interessed in it, and dishonoured by it, to wit, [*Christ* delighteth not in the *bloud* of men, but shed his own *bloud* for his *bloudiest enemies:*] Mr *Cotton* answers; It is true that *Christ* delighteth not in the bloud of men, while they gainsay and *bloudily persecute* him and his, out of *Ignorance:* but he delights in the *bloud* of such, who after the *acknowledgement* of his *Truth*, doe tread the *bloud* of his *Covenant* under-foote, and *wittingly* and *willingly* reject him from raigning over them: The contrary whereof he sayth Proclaimes the *Gospel* to the *seede* of the *Serpent: Sows pillowes* under all *ellbowes*, makes the *Heart* of the *Righteous sad*, strengthens the hand of the *wicked*, and proclaimes *peace* to *Jezabell*, and her *whoredomes* and *witchcrafts*, and concludes with *prayer* against

against such a bewitching of the *Whores Cup*, where, by open *profession* she is rejected, but let in by the *back-doore* of *Tollera-tion.*

Truth. I perceive (Sweet *Peace*) that in the winding up of this *Discourse* Mr *Cotton* winds up, resolveth and reduceth his former pleaded for *persecuting* of *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, into the persecuting onely of *Apostates*, who after the acknowledging of the *Truth*, doe tread the *bloud* of *Christs Covenant* underfoote, &c. To which I answer: If so then the discerning & judging between such as gainsay *Christ*, and *blaspheame* him out of *Ignorance*, (such as Mr *Cotton* makes the *Jewes*, who put him to Death) and such as *willingly* and *wittingly* reject him: I say, the judging of this must then rest at the *Barre* of the *Civill Courts* and *Judicatures* of the *World*, which necessarily implies a supposition of *power* of *Judging* in all the *Nations* of the *World*, and so consequently in *Naturall* men contrary to the *Scriptures*, which conclude all *Mankinde* (while in their *naturall estate*,) uncapable of the things of Gods Spirit. Of persecuting Apostates.

Peace. Yea and also (to my understanding) it implies, a *submitting* and *subjecting* of the *Crowne* and *Scepter* and *affaires* of *Christ Jesus*, to the *Civill* and *humane Crownes* and *Scepters* and *Tribunalls* of the *Nations* of this *World*, and that in *spirituall* and *heavenly* things, the proper *affaires* of his owne *Spirituall Kingdome*, in the which, the wisest of this world are ignorant, and extreamly opposite.

Truth. For this, you know Mr *Cotton* hath a broken *Refuge*, to wit, [the *Nations* of the *World*, & *Naturall* men must not judge untill they be better informed] In which, what a wonderfull and *monstrous suspension* doth he put upon the *affaires* of *Christ Jesus* all the world over, and leaves the *matters* of *Christ Jesus* in worse case, and more poorely provided for by *Christ Jesus*, then the *matters* and *affaires* of any *King* or *Kingdome* in the *World*, beyond *compare* and *Imagination*. A monstrous suspension or hanging up of Magistrates.

Peace. Yet, me-thinks those Scriptures quoted by Mr *Cotton* *Luc.* 17. Those mine *Enemies*, &c. and *Revel.* 16. *Bloudie vengeance* upon *Antichristian Emissaries*, are very considerable.

Truth. Doubtles all *Scripture* seriously alledged by the most *ignorant* and *unworthy* (how much more from so *learned* and *conscientious*) ought seriously and awfully to be pondered in the Allegations of Scriptures ought seriously to be mad and answered.

the holy *presence* of *God*: The *Warrants* and *Authorities* of *civill powers* (though but pretended) are not without due respect to be examined, although rejected (in the end) as insufficient, &c. But consider in the *Examination* of those *Scriptures*: Is it credible that all that resist *Christ Jesus*, his *Kingdome* and *Government*, are *Apostate* and *Antichristian Emissaries*, against whom he powres out that *Violl?* Have they first acknowledged the *Covenant* of *Jesus*, and then trod the *precious bloud* of that *High Covenant* under feete?

Millions of *Turks*, *Jewes*, and *Antichristians* are far from the due charge of Apostasie.

Peace. The *East* is not so farre from the *West*, as those *Scriptures* from such a *Conclusion*.

Truth. Yea how many hundreth thousands of *Jewes* and *Turkes* and *Antichristians* perish *temporally* and *eternally*, and that for refusing *Christ Jesus* to be *King*, and for shedding his *bloud* in his *servants*, who can never be brought under this guilt of *Apostacie*, after they have once acknowledged the truth of *Christs Government* and *Kingdome*.

Peace. Me-thinks to understand the *Scriptures* in Mr *Cottons sence*, were a wonderfull *penning* up and *straightning* the holy *Scripture*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, as soone may we *immure* the *glorious Sun* in a *darke dungeon*, as confine those bright *Scriptures* in the dark *Cells* of *Apostacie*: but I further observe, that *Christ Jesus* not only praid and dyed for his *Enemies*, who bloudily *persecuted* him and his out of *Ignorance*, but gave this reason against bodily Death to be inflicted on any for his cause and sake, *Luc. 9.* The *Son* of *Man* is not come to *destroy Mens lives*: and I might returne the *Question* to Mr *Cotton*, not unfitly, Are not these the words of *Him* that delighteth not in the *bloud* of his *bloudiest enemies* and *Gainsayers?*

Peace. It will be said, What *slaughters*, what drinking of *Bloud* is that which *Christ Jesus* in these *Scriptures* intendeth?

Truth. I answer, although the *Sword* of *Christs Kingdome*, that sharpe *Sword* with two edges is a *Spirituall Sword*, and is carried in his *Mouth*, yet all power in *Heaven* and *Earth* being given into his hands by his *Father*, he *ruleth* and *over-ruleth* in a way of *power* and *providence*, all the *powers* of the *World*.

The mysterie of the red Horse of War.

There is therefore a great *Sword* given to him that rideth upon the *white Horse*, (*Revel. 6.*) by which, for the resisting of

of him that rideth upon the *white Horse*, (in the *gainsaying* and *persecuting* of *Christ* in his *Members*) *Christ Jesus* takes *peace* from the *Earth*, and suffers the *Turkes* to plague the *Antichristian World*, (*Papists* and carnall *Protestants*) to plague each other, and to fill *Cups* of *Bloud* each to other, while they contend and fight, first against *God*, and then one against another, for their severall false *Prophets* and *Religions*.

Peace. Me-thinks then Mr *Cotton* might have spared to charge the Discusser with proclaiming of *peace* to *Jezabell*, &c.

Truth. There is a *Spirituall peace* in the *matters* of *Christs Kingdome* and *Worship*, and in the *particular Consciences* and *Soules* of his *Servants*. There is a *Civill peace* in the quiet enjoyment of each mans *proprietie*, in the *Combination* of *Townes*, *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, &c. But neither of these three will Mr *Cotton* prove the Discusser proclaimeth to such *Antichristians* or *enemies* of *Christ Jesus*, who *persecute* and *oppresse Jew* or *Gentile* upon any *civill* or *spirituall pretence*.

A spirituall and Civill peace.

'Tis true, the *Consciences* and *Worships* of all men *peaceable* in their way, he affirmes ought not to be molested, and though not *approved* yet *permitted*, and (although no *spirituall*, yet) a *civill peace* proclaimed to their *outward man* while *peaceable* in *civill commerce*.

To *persecutours*, he not onely proclaimes *Gods Judgements spirituall* and *eternall*, but *temporall* also, and affirmeth that all *persecutours* of all *sorts* (and especially the bloudie *Whore* of *Rome* (who hath so long been *drunk* with the *bloud* of the *Saints*,) ought by the *Civill Sword* to be *restrained* and *punished* (as the *Destroyers* of *Mankinde* and all *civill* and *peaceable* being in the *World*,) according to the hight of their *cruell* and *murtherous Oppressions*.

Peace. But *Tolleration* of her (sayth Mr *Cotton* brings) her in at the back dore, and so we may come to drink deeply of the *Cup* of the *Lords wrath*, and be filled with the *Cup* of her *plagues*.

Truth. There are two opinions which have bewitched the *Nations* professing the name of *Christ*.

Two wofull opinions bewitching the Nations.

First, That a *Nationall Church* or *State*, is of *Christs appointing*.

Secondly,

Secondly, That such a *Nationall Church* or *State* must be maintained pure by the *power* of the *Sword*. While Mr *Cotton* prayes against the *bewitching* of the *Whores cup*, O that the *Father* of *Lights* might graciously please to shew him the depth of her *witchcrafts*, and his owne most *wofull Delusions* in both these.

In vaine doth Mr *Cotton* feare *partaking* of her *sinnes* and *plagues* by a *tollerating* (meerly) of her *Worship* in a *civill State*, while he forgets the *three great causes* of her *downfall* and *desolation*, and partakes of any of them (*Revel.* 18.) to wit, Her *worldly pompe* and *pleasure*: Her *spirituall Whoredomes* and *invented Worships*, and her *crueltie* and *bloudshed*, more especially against the *Consciences* of the *Saints* or *holy ones* of *Jesus*.

The 3 great Causes of the downfall of the Church of *Rome*.

Exam: of Chap. 79. *Touching the* Modell *of Church and Civill power, Examined in the first part of the* bloudie Tenent, *but not defended by Mr* Cotton, *or any, that the Discusser knowes of.*

Peace. I Had hoped (*Deare Truth*) that we had gained a *peaceable* and *quiet harbour*, after all our tempestuous *Tossings* in the boysterous Seas of this *bloudie Tenent*, yet now behold a *sharpe* and *cutting winde* of Mr *Cottons* continuall *Censures*; For I was not (sayth Mr *Cotton*) of those that composed the *Modell*: and secondly, the *Ministers* say it was not sent by them to *Salem*, and therefore the *Discusser* is left of *God* to a double *falshood*.

Touching a *New English Modell* of Church and civill power.

Truth. Sweete Peace, till *sweete Death*, in and (often) for *Christ*, close up the Eyes of his *servants*, they must not expect to rest fully from their *Labours*, and expect their *workes* to follow them.

Once againe therefore let us heare the Discussers *plea* for himselfe against this bluftering charge of double *falshood*. Master *Cottons* owne words in the End of his *Answer* to the *Prisoners Letter*, are these; I forbeare *adding Reasons* to justifie the "*Truth*, because you may finde that done to your hand in a "Treatise sent to some of the Brethren, late of *Salem*, who "doubted as * you doe.

* Writing to one Mr *Hall*.

Truth.

Truth. To my knowledge it was reported (according to this hint of Mr *Cottons*) that from the *Ministers* of the *Churches* (pretended) such a *Modell* composed by them was sent to *Salem:* Hereupon it was that the *Discusser* wrote on purpose to his worthy friend Mr *Sharpe* (*Elder* of the *Church* of *Salem*, (so called) for the sight of it, who accordingly sent it to him.

Peace. If this *Modell*, of such *consequence*, were so *composed* and so sent to *Salem*, if Mr *Cotton* directs others thither to *repaire* to make use of it, if he thus *approve* and *promote* it, I see not why it might not probably be *collected*, that Mr *Cotton* (not the last in such *great* and *publike matters*) was amongst, if not *chiefe* amongst the *composers* of it, and that he and they were not ignorant of the *conveyance* of it to *Salem*.

Deepe Censures for none or innocent mistakes.

Truth. But grant Mr *Cotton* should have been imagined to have been left out in this so great and *publike* a *service*, and that all the former *probabilities* faile: yet doubtles Mr *Cotton* will be cast at the barre of *Christian Love* and *Moderation*, for so *bitter* a *charge* upon the poore *Discusser* for so easie and harmles *Mistakes*.

Peace. Such fierce *flashes* might well issue from the bloudie *French Cardinalls* against the poore *Hugenots*, from the *English bloudie Bishops* against the poore *Lollards*, from the bloudie *Popes* against the *Hereticks* and *Lutherans*: but a gentler *Breath* and *stile* might well beseeme a *Protestant* to a *Protestant*, engaged in *common principles* and *Testimonies* and *sufferings* of *Jesus* against those *bloudie Tyrants*.

But to the *Modell*, Mr *Cotton* seemes highly offended, that the *Discusser* should say, that the *Modell* awaketh *Moses* from his *unknowne Grave*, and denies *Jesus* yet to have seene the *Earth*. For, *Moses* his *Lawes* were of force (sayth he) to the *Israelites* in the Land of *Canaan*, when *Moses* was dead: and againe, *Christ* came not to destroy the *Law* of *Moses*, not the *Morall Law*, nor the *Judicialls*, such as are of *common Equitie*: Or els (sayth he) *the Conscience of the Civill Magistrate could never doe any act of civill Justice out of Faith, because he should have no word of God to be the Ground of his Act, if the Lawes of Judgement were abrogated, and none extant in the New.*

Truth. I answer; that speech of the *Discusser* was neither

Touching *Moses* his Judicialls.

unreasonable, nor *untrue*, as Mr *Cotton* alledgeth: for grant *Christ* came not to destroy the *Morall Law* of the ten *Commands* (for the *Substance* of it, for all *materiall circumstances* therein Mr *Cotton* will not urge nor practice). Nor secondly, the *Judicialls* of *Morall Equitie*, that is, such as in deed concerne *Life* and *Manners*, according to the *Nature* and *Constitution* of the severall *Nations* and *Peoples* of the *World*.

Peace. Pardon me (*Deare Truth*) before you proceede, a word of *Explication*: your *Addition* [according to the *Nature* and *Constitution* of the *Peoples* and *Nations* of the *World*] will not be allowed of.

Israel in a kinde a miraculous people.

Truth. Without this I cannot allow of *Moses* his *Judicialls* to binde all *Nations* of the *World*, then before, or since *Christ Jesus*: my reason is: That people of *Israel* (to which those *Judiciall Lawes* and *punishments* were prescribed) was as I may say, a *miraculous people* or *Nation*, miraculously brought from one *Nation*, (the Land of *Ægypt*) into another (the Land of *Canaan*) both types, a people furnished with *miraculous food* and *cloathing* during their fortie yeares Travell through the *Wildernes*: The seaven *Nations* of *Canaan* wondrously and *miraculously* destroyed before them; Their *Lawes* and *Institutions miraculously* delivered to them, &c.

Beside (not to wade deeper into this *Controversie*, as in the *Examination* of the *Modell* I have done) their Land was typically *holy*, and that people the *Church* of *God*, the onely *Church* of *God* in the *World*. And therefore being a people of such *miraculous considerations*, *Meanes* and *Obligations*, the breach even of *Morall Lawes* concerning *Life* and *Manners* and *civill Estate*, might be more transcendently *hainous* and *odious* in them, then in the other severall *Nations* and *peoples* of the *World*, many *thousands* and *millions* whereof never so much as heard of the Name of the *God* of *Israel*.

Peace. If men see cause to ordaine a *Court* of *Chancerie*, and erect a *Mercy-seate* to moderate the *rigour* of *Lawes*, which cannot be justly executed, without the moderate and equall consideration of *persons* and other *circumstances*! Me-thinks, the *Father* of *Mercies* (though he be *Justice* it selfe, yet) cannot be justly imagined to carrie all *Judiciall* or *Civill Lawes* or *Sentences*, by one *universall strictnes* through all the *Nations* of the *Earth*.

Truth.

Truth. The *Lord Jesus* tells us of a more tollerable *Sentence*, (even for the *Sodomites* in the day of *Judgement*, then for the *Jewes*, who were the *people* and *Church* of *God*: and *Paul* his servant layes heavier load (*Rom.* 2.) upon such *Adulterers*, *Thieves*, as professe to be *Teachers* unto others, &c. of the contrary *Graces* and *Vertues*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, the *Scriptures* are full, and many Arguments might be drawne out this way, but please you to pitch upon an *Instance*, whereby we may the sooner finish this *Digression*.

Truth. Take that great case of the *punishment* of *Adulterie*, and I confidently affirme, that the *Conscience* of the *Magistrate*, may out of *Faith*, execute other *punishments* beside (stoning to) Death, which was the *punishment* of that *sinne* in *Israell*. For although (as Mr *Cotton* sayth) That was the *Law* of *Judgement* in the *Old Testament*, and there is no other *particularly* expreſt in the *New*, yet the *Conscience* of the *Magistrate* may know,

Touching punishment of Adulterie.

First, That the carriage of the *Lord Jesus* about this case, when the *Question* was precisely put to him, was *extraordinary* and *strange*: For (although unto other *Questions*, even of the *Pharisees*, *Herodians*, *Sadduces*, the *High Priest*, and *Pilate*, he gave more or lesse, first or last, punctuall *Resolutions*, yet) here, he *condemnes* the *sinne*, yet he neither confirmes, nor disanulls this *punishment*, but leaves the *Question* (in all *probabilitie*) and leaves the *severall Nations* of the *World*, to their owne *severall Lawes* and *Agreements* (as is most probable) according to their severall *Natures*, *Dispositions* and *Constitutions*, and their *common peace* and *wellfare*.

Secondly, The *Lord Jesus* (1 *Pet.* 2.) approveth of the severall humane *Ordinances* (or *Creations*) which the severall *peoples* and *Nations* of the *World* shall agree upon for their *common peace* and *subsistence*. Hence are the severall *sorts* of *Governments* in the *Nations* of the *World*, which are not framed after *Israels Patterne*. And hence consequently, the *Lawes*, *Rewards* and *Punishments* of severall *Nations* vastly differ from those of *Israell*, which doubtles were unlawfull for *Gods* people to submit unto, except *Christ Jesus* had (at least in generall) approved such humane *Ordinances* and *Creations* of Men for their *common peace* and *wellfare*.

All Civill Government Gods Ordinance.

Peace. Me-thinks Mr *Cotton*, and such as literally stick to the *punishment* of *Adultery*, *Witchcraft*, &c. by *Death*, must either deny the severall *Governments* of the *World* to be lawfull (according to that of *Peter*) and that the *Nature* and *Constitutions* of *peoples* and *Nations*, are not to be respected, but all promiscuously forced to one *common Law*, or els they must see cause to moderate this their *Tenent*, which else proves as bloudie a *Tenent* in *civill affaires*, as *persecution* in *affaires religious*.

True Republikes & Common weales without Kings.

Truth. Yea, of what *wofull consequence* must this prove to the state of *Holland* and *Low-Countries*, to the *State* of *Venice*, to the *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, to our owne deare *State* of *England*, and others who have no *King*, as *Israells* last established *Government* had, especially no *King* immediately designed, as *Israells* (in the Roote) was? Yea what becomes of all *Christianitie*, and of *Christs Church* and *Kingdome* in the *World* for ever, if it want the *Government* of a *King*: for sayth Bishop *Hall* (in his *Contemplation* on *Michaes Idolatrie*) in plaine and expresse words: No *King*, therefore no *Church*.

A wonderfull saying of Bishop *Hall*.

Peace. To end this passage, upon the former grounds, methinks the *Conscience* of a *New English Magistrate* (being calld to be a *Magistrate* in *Old England*) may in *Faith* execute any other punishment (according to *Law* established) beside Death, upon *Adulterers*. And the *New English Colonies* may be exhorted to rectifie their wayes, and to moderate such their *Lawes*, which cannot possibly put on the face of *morall Equitie* from *Moses*, &c.

The State of *Israel*.

Truth. Your *Satisfaction* (Deare *Peace*) now præsupposed I proceed and grant (with that *Limitation* forementioned) that *Christ Jesus* neither abrogated *Moses Moralls*, nor *Judicialls*, yet who will deny that *Moses* established, (beside the two former) a third, to wit, *Lawes* meerly *figurative*, *typicall* and *ceremoniall*, proper and peculiar to that Land and people of *Israel*? Those *Lawes* necessarily wrapt up that *Nation* and people in a *mixt constitution*, of *Spirituall* and *Temporall*, *Religious* and *Civill*, so that their *Governours* of *Civill State* were *Governours* of the *Church*, and the very *Land* and *People* were by such *Governours* to be compelled to observe a *ceremoniall puritie* and *Holines*: But *Christ Jesus* erected another *Common-weale*, the *Common-*

weale

weale of *Israel*, the *Christian Common-weale* or *Church*, to wit, not whole *Nations*, but in every *Nation* (where he pleaseth) his *Christian Congregation*, &c.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, I cannot count him a *peaceable* childe of mine, that rests not herewith satisfied: Mr *Cottons* next *Exception* is against your excepting against a *Magistrates* Membership in a *Church-estate*, joyned with an *Head-ship* over it, to establish, reforme, &c. (as being impossible that a *Magistrate* should sit Head and Supreame on the *spirituall Bench*, & yet stand as a delinquent at the *spirituall Barre* of *Christ Jesus*) Mr *Cotton* answers, that in severall respects, a *Magistrate* may be a nursing *Father* and *Judge* in causes *Ecclesiastiall*, and yet be subject to *Christs* censure in the offensive *Government* of *himselfe* against the *Rules* of the *Gospel*. And where it might be said, that the *Church* is subject to the *Magistrate* in *civill causes*, and the *Magistrate* is subject to the *Church* in *spirituall cases*, Mr *Cotton* answers, this easeth not the *Difficultie*, for suppose, sayth he, the *Magistrate* fall into *Murther*, *Adulterie*, &c. which are *civill Abuses*, shall the *Church* tollerate him herein? And he concludes, Let the like *Power* be granted to the *civill Magistrate* to deale faithfully with the *Church* in the notorious *Transgression* of the first Table, as is granted to the *Church* to deale with the *Magistrate* in the notorious *Transgression* of the *second Table*, and the *Controversie* is ended.

Of *Magistrates* being nursing Fathers, &c.

Of *Magistrates* Power in Spiritualls.

Truth. This Answer and instance of Mr *Cotton* carries a seeming *Beautie* with it, but bring it to the *Triail* of the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, and it will appeare to be, but a vanishing *Colour*. For, there is a vast *Difference*: The sins of each *Church-member*, whether against the *first* or *second Table*, are proper to the *Cognizance* and *Judgement* of the *Church*, as the *sinne* of the *Incestuous* person was punished by *Christs Ordinances* (in the *Church* at *Corinth*) as well as the Abuse of the *Lords Supper*. But it is not so with the *civill Magistrate*, whose *Office* is *essentially civill*, one and the same, all the world over, among all *Nations* and *people*: For, having no *spirituall power* (as the *Authours* of the *Modell* afterwards acknowledge) he cannot possibly act as a *Civill Magistrate* in *spirituall matters*, though as a *Church-member*, he may in *Church-estate*, as also may the rest of the Members of that spirituall Body.

Of the sins of *Magistrates*.

Peace.

Peace. Me-thinks it it cleare as the Light, that if that incestuous person in the *Church* of *Corinth* had beene a *Magistrate* of the *Citie* of *Corinth*, the *Church* might justly have proceeded against him, because all sinne is directly opposite to the holy *Kingdome* of *Christ*. But in that abuse of the *Lords Supper* (which was meerly unchristian) neither that *Magistrate*, nor all the *Magistrates* of *Corinth*, or the *World* to helpe him, could justly punish the *Church*, because that *Supper* (in the *Institution*, and *Spirituall* use of it) was not onely of the *Nature* of the *Suppers*, of the meates and drinks of the *Citie* of *Corinth*, but also of a *divine* and *spirituall Institution*, of a heavenly and *mysticall Nature* and *Observation*. But to Conclude this piece and the whole, Mr *Cotton* corrects himselfe for putting in his *Sickle* into the *Harvest* of his *Brethren*, unto whom he refers the defence of their *Modell*, and for himselfe ends with desires that *Christ Jesus* would blast that peace which he sayth the *Examiner* proclaimeth to all the wayes of false *Religion*, to *Heresie* in *Doctrine*, &c.

A case touching the Magistrates punishing the Sin of Church-members.

Truth. If *Christ Jesus* shall please (for the further *manifestation* of his holy *Truth* and *Glory*) to permit those *able* and *worthy men*, to proceed to fortifie and defend their *Modell*: I hope he will also please to assist the *Discusser*, or some other of his poore servants, to batter downe (with the *Spirituall Artillerie* of his *Word* and *Testament*) such weake and loose and *unchristian Fortifications*.

Peace. But with what a *deepe* and *unrighteous charge* doth Mr *Cotton* end against the poore *Discusser*, as a *Proclaimer* of *peace* to all the *wayes* of false *Religion*, to *Heresie* in *Doctrine*, &c.

Truth. Grant Mr *Cotton* (in many excellent *Truths* of *Jesus*) a sweet sounding *Silver Trumpet*: Grant the *Discusser* as base a *Rams-horne* harsh and contemptible: Grant that (for the *peace* of the *Civill State*, the being of the *Nations*, and the *World*, the *safetie* of the good *Wheate* the *Righteous*, and the calling home of the *Elect* to *God*, *Jewes* and *Gentiles*!) the *Discusser* proclaimes a *civill being*, and *civill peace* to *Erroneous Consciences*, not sinning against humane and *civill Principles*: Yet what *Peace* hath this *Rams-horne* proclaimed (as Mr *Cotton* insinuates) when throughout this whole Booke, from first

first to last, the *Proclamation* soundeth out *open warre* against all false *Worshippers.*

Peace. I am a joyfull *witnes* of *warre* proclaimed from the *God* of *Truth*, from the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse*, from the *Spirit* of *Holines*, from the flames of Fire, those mighty *Angells*, from all the *Saints* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus*, from all his holy *Truths* and *Ordinances*. *Warre* to their *Consciences*, *Preachings*, *Writings*, *Disputations*, a *warre present*, a warre *perpetuall*, and (without *Repentance*) a warre *eternall* and *everlasting*.

The direfull state of false Worshippers.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, our *goulden sand* is out, we now must part with an holy *Kisse* of heavenly *Peace* and *Love*: Mr *Cotton* speakes and writes his *Conscience*: Yet the *Father* of *Lights* may please to shew him that what he highly esteemes as a *Tenent* washt white in the *Lambes blood*, is yet more *black* and *abominable*, in the most *pure* and *jealous eye* of *God*.

Peace. The *Blackmores Darkness* appears not in the *darke* from the *fayrest white*.

Truth. *Christ Jesus* the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse* hath broke forth, and dayly, will, to a *brighter* and *brighter Discovery* of this deformed *Ethiopian*: And for my selfe I must proclaime, before the most holy *God*, *Angells* and *Men*; that (whatsoever other *white* and heavenly *Tenents* Mr *Cotton* holds) yet this is a *fowle*, a *black*, and a *bloudie Tenent*.

The Portraiture of the *Bloudie Tenent.*

A *Tenent* of high *Blasphemie* against the *God* of *Peace*, the *God* of *Order*, who hath of one *Bloud*, made all *Mankinde*, to dwell upon the face of the *Earth*, now, all *confounded* and *destroyed* in their *Civill Beings* and *Subsistences*, by mutuall flames of *warre* from their severall respective *Religions* and *Consciences*.

A *Tenent warring* against the *Prince* of *Peace*, *Christ Jesus*, denying his *Appearance* and *Comming* in the *Flesh*, to put an end to, and *abolish* the *shadowes* of that *ceremoniall* and *typicall* Land of *Canaan*.

A *Tenent* fighting against the sweete *end* of his *comming*, which was not to destroy mens *Lives*, for their *Religions*, but to save them, by the meeke and peaceable *Invitations* and *perswasions* of his peaceable *Wisdomes Maidens*.

Luc. 9.

Prov. 9.

The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent.*

A *Tenent* fowly charging his *Wisedome*, *Faithfullnes* and *Love*, in so poorly providing such *Magistrates* and *Civill Powers* all the *World* over, as might effect so great a *charge* pretended to be committed to them.

A *Tenent* lamentably guilty of his most precious *bloud*, shed in the *bloud* of so many hundreth thousand of his poore *servants* by the *civill powers* of the *World*, pretending to suppresse *Blasphemies*, *Heresies*, *Idolatries*, *Superstition*, &c.

A *Tenent* fighting with the *Spirit* of *Love*, *Holines*, and *Meeknes*, by kindling fiery *Spirits* of *false zeale* and *Furie*, when yet such *Spirits* know not of what *Spirit* they are.

A *Tenent* fighting with those mighty *Angels* who stand up for the peace of the *Saints*, against *Persia*, *Grecia*, &c. and so consequently, all other *Nations*, who fighting for their severall *Religions*, and against the *Truth*, leave no *Roome* for such as feare and love the *Lord* on the Earth.

The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent.*

A *Tenent*, against which the blessed *Soules* under the *Altar* cry loud for *vengeance*, this *Tenent* having cut their *Throats*, torne out their *Hearts*, and powred forth their *Bloud* in all *Ages*, as the onely *Hereticks* and *Blasphemers* in the World.

A *Tenent* which no *Uncleannes*, no *Adulterie*, *Incest*, *Sodomie*, or *Beastialitie* can equall, this *ravishing* and forcing (*explicitly* or *implicitly*) the very *Soules* and *Consciences* of all the *Nations* and *Inhabitants* of the *World*.

A *Tenent* that puts out the very *eye* of all true *Faith*, which cannot but be as free and voluntarie as any *Virgin* in the *World*, in *refusing* or *embracing* any *spirituall offer* or *object*.

A *Tenent* loathsome and ugly (in the eyes of the *God* of *Heaven*, and serious sonnes of men) I say, loathsome with the palpable *filths* of *grosse dissimulation* and *hypocrisie* : Thousands of *Peoples* and whole *Nations*, compelld by this *Tenent* to put on the fowle *vizard* of *Religious hypocrisie*, for feare of

Lawes,

Lawes, losses and *punishments*, and for the keeping and hoping for of *favour, libertie, worldly commoditie*, &c.

A *Tenent* wofully guiltie of hardning all false and *deluded Consciences* (of whatsoever *Sect*, *Faction*, *Heresie*, or *Idolatrie*, though never so *horrid* and *blasphemous*) by *cruelties* and *violences* practiced against them: all false *Teachers* and their *Followers* (ordinarily) contracting a *Brawnie* and *steelie hardnesse* from their *sufferings* for their *Consciences*. The Portraiture of the bloudie Tenent.

A *Tenent* that shuts and bars out the gracious *prophesies* and *promises* and *discoveries* of the most glorious *Sun* of *Righteousnes*, *Christ Jesus*, that burnes up the holy *Scriptures*, and forbids them (upon the point) to be read in *English*, or that any *tryall* or *search*, or (truly) free *disquisition* be made by them: when the most able, diligent and conscionable *Readers* must pluck forth their own *eyes*, and be forced to reade by the (which soever *prædominant*) *Cleargies Spectacles*.

A *Tenent* that *seales up* the spirituall *graves* of all men, *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, (and consequently stands guiltie of the *damnation* of all men) since no *Preachers*, nor *Trumpets* of *Christ* himselfe may call them out, but such as the severall and respective *Nations* of the *World* themselves allow of.

A *Tenent* that fights against the *common principles* of all *Civilitie*, and the very *civill being* and *combinations* of *men* in *Nations*, *Cities*, &c. by commixing (*explicitly* or *implicitly*) a *spirituall* and *civill State* together, and so confounding and overthrowing the *puritie* and *strength* of both. The Portraiture of the bloudie Tenent.

A *Tenent* that kindles the devouring *flames* of *combustions* and *warres* in most *Nations* of the *World*, and (if *God* were not infinitly gracious) had almost ruind the *English*, *French*, the *Scotch* and *Irish*, and many other *Nations*, *Germane*, *Polonian*, *Hungarian*, *Bohemian*, &c.

A *Tenent* that bowes downe the *backs* and *necks* of all *civill States* and *Magistrates*, *Kings* and *Emperours*, under the proud feete of that *man* and *monster* of *sinne* and *pride* the *Pope*, and all

Popiſh and proud *Cleargie-men*, rendring ſuch *Laicks* and *Seculars* (as they call them) but ſlaviſh *Executioners* (upon the point) of their moſt imperious *Synodicall Decrees* and *Sentences*.

The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent*.

A *Tenent* that renders the higheſt *civill Magiſtrates* and *Miniſters* of *Juſtice* (the *Fathers* and *Gods* of their *Countries*) either odious or lamentably grievous unto the very beſt *Subjects* by either clapping or keeping on, the *iron yoakes* of cruelleſt *oppreſſion*. No *yoake* or *bondage* comparably ſo grievous, as that upon the Soules necke of mens *Religion* and *Conſciences*.

A *Tenent*, all beſprinckled with the *bloudie murthers*, *ſtobs*, *poyſonings*, *piſtollings*, *powder-plots*, &c. againſt many famous *Kings*, *Princes*, and *States*, either actually performed or attempted, in *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Low-Countries*, and other *Nations*.

A *Tenent* all *red* and *bloudie* with thoſe moſt *barbarous* and *Tyger*-like *Maſſacres*, of ſo many thouſand and ten thouſands formerly in *France*, and other parts, and ſo lately and ſo horribly in *Ireland*: of which, what ever cauſes be aſſigned, this chiefly will be found the true, and while this continues (to wit, *violence* againſt *Conſcience*) this *bloudie Iſſue*, ſooner or later, muſt *breake forth* againe (except *God* wonderfully ſtop it) in *Ireland* and other places too.

The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent*.

A *Tenent* that *ſtunts* the *growth* and *flouriſhing* of the moſt likely and hopefulleſt *Common-weales* and *Countries*, while *Conſciences*, the *beſt*, and the *beſt* deſerving *Subjects* are forct to flie (by enforced or voluntary *Baniſhment*) from their native *Countries*; The lamentable proofe whereof *England* hath felt in the flight of ſo many worthy *Engliſh*, into the *Low Countries* and *New-England*, and from *New-England* into old againe and other forraigne parts.

A *Tenent* whoſe groſſe partialitie denies the *Principles* of *common Juſtice*, while *Men* waigh out to the *Conſciences* of all others, that which they judge not fit nor right to be waighed out to their owne: Since the *perſecutours Rule* is, to take and perſecute all *Conſciences*, onely, *himſelfe* muſt not be touched.

A *Tenent* that is but *Machevilisme*, and makes a *Religion*, but a *cloake* or *stalking horse* to *policie* and *private Ends* of *Jeroboams Crowne*, and the *Priests Benefice*, &c.

A *Tenent* that *corrupts* and *spoiles* the very *Civill Honestie* and *Naturall Conscience* of a *Nation*. Since *Conscience* to *God* violated, proves (without *Repentance*) ever after, a very *Jade*, a *Drug*, loose and *unconscionable* in all converse with men.

Lastly, a *Tenent* in *England* most unseasonable, as powring *Oyle* upon those *Flames* which the high *Wisedome* of the *Parliament*, (by easing the yoakes on Mens *Consciences*) had begun to quench.

In the sad Consideration of all which (Deare *Peace*) let *Heaven* and *Earth* judge of the *washing* and *colour* of this *Tenent*. For thee (*sweete heavenly Guest*) goe lodge thee in the *breasts* of the *peaceable* and humble *Witnesses* of *Jesus*; that love the *Truth* in *peace!* Hide thee from the Worlds *Tumults* and *Combustions*, in the breasts of thy truely *noble children*, who professe and *endeavour* to breake the *irony* and insupportable *yoakes* upon the *Soules* and *Consciences* of any of the sonnes of Men.

Peace her Repose and Tabernacle.

Peace. Me-thinks (Deare *Truth*) if any of the least of these deepe charges be found against this *Tenent*, you doe not wrong it when you stile it *bloudie*: But since, in the wofull proofe of all *Ages* past, since *Nimrod* (the *Hunter* or *persecutour* before the *Lord*) these and more are lamentably evident and undeniable: it gives me wonder that so many and so excellent *eyes* of *Gods* servants should not espie so fowle a *monster*, especially considering the *universall opposition* this *Tenent* makes against *Gods Glory*, and the *Good* of all mankinde.

Truth. There have been many fowle *opinions*, with which the *old Serpent* hath infected and bewitched the sonnes of men (touching *God*, *Christ*, the *Spirit*, the *Church*, against *Holines*, against *Peace*, against *civill Obedience*, against *chastitie*) in so much, that even *Sodomie* it selfe hath been a *Tenent* maintained in print by some of the very *pillars* of the *Church of Rome*: But this *Tenent* is so universally opposite to *God* and *man*, so pernicious and destructive to both (as hath been declared) that like

The *Bloudie Tenent* of persecution compared.

like the *Powder plot*, it threatens to blow up all *Religion*, all *civilitie*, all *humanitie*, yea the very *Being* of the *World*, and the *Nations* thereof at once.

Peace. He that is the *Father* of *Lies*, and a *murtherer* from the beginning, he knowes this well, and that this ugly *Blackmore* needs a *maske* or *vizard*.

Truth. Yea the *bloudines* and *inhumanitie* of it is such, that not onely Mr *Cottons* more tender and holy Breast, but even the most *bloudie Bonners* and *Gardiners* have been forced to arme themselves with the faire *shewes* and glorious *pretences*, of the *Glory* of *God*, and *zeale* for that *Glory*, the *Love* of his *Truth*, the *Gospel* of *Christ Jesus*, *love* and *pitie* to mens soules, the *peace* of the *Church*, *uniformitie*, *Order*, the *peace* of the *Common-weale*, the *Wisedome of the State*, the *Kings*, *Queenes*, and *Parliaments* proceedings, the *odiousnesse* of *Sects*, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies*, *Novelties*, *Seducers*, and their *Infections*: the *obstinacie* of *Hereticks*, after all *Meanes*, *Disputations*, *Examinations*, *Synods*, yea and after *Conviction* in the poore *Hereticks* owne *Conscience*: Add to these the flattring sound of those glosing *Titles*, the *Godly Magistrate*, the *Christian Magistrate*, the *Nurcing Fathers* and *Mothers* of the *Church*, *Christian Kings* and *Queenes*. But all other *Kings* and *Magistrates* (even all the *Nations* of the *World* over, as Mr *Cotton* pleads) must suspend and hould their hands, and not meddle in *matters* of *Religion*, untill they be informed, &c.

The maskes and vizards of the *bloudie Tenent*.

Peace. The dreadfull righteous hand of *God*, the *Eternall* and avenging *God*, is pulling off these *maskes* and *vizards*, that *thousands*, and the *World* may see this *bloudie Tenents Beautie*.

Truth. But see (my *heavenly Sister*, and true *stranger* in this Sea-like restles, raging World) see here what *Fires* and *Swords* are come to part us! Well; Our *meetings* in the *Heavens* shall not thus be interrupted, our *Kisses* thus *distracted*, and our *eyes* and *cheekes* thus *wet*, *unwiped*: For me, though *censured*, *threatned*, *persecuted*, I must professe, while *Heaven* and *Earth* lasts, that no one *Tenent* that either *London*, *England*, or the *World* doth harbour, is so *hereticall*, *blasphemous*, *seditious*, and *dangerous* to the *corporall*, to the *spirituall*, to the *present*, to the *Eternall* Good of all Men, as is the *bloudie Tenent* (how ever *wash't* and *whited*) I say, as is the *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

Truth & *Peace*, their meetings seldome and short in this world.

The

The Copie of a Letter of *R. Williams* of *Providence* in *New England*, to Major *Endicot*, Governour of the *Massachusets*, upon *occasion of the late persecution against* Mr Clarke *and* Obadiah Holmes, *and others at* Boston *the chiefe Towne of the* Massachusets *in* New England.

SIR,

HAving done with our transitorie Earthly * Affaires (as touching the *English* and the *Indians*) which in Compariton of heavenly and *Eternall* you will say are but as dung and drosse, &c. Let me now be humbly bold to remember that *Humanitie* and *pietie*, which I and others have formerly observed in you, and in that hopefull Remembrance to crave your gentle *audience* with *patience* and *mildnes*, with *ingenuitie*, *equanimitie* and *candour*, to him that ever truely and deeply loved you and yours, and as in the awfull presence of his holy *Eye*, whose dreadfull *hand* hath formed us to the praise of his *mercy* or *Justice* to all *Eternitie*.

* Matters touching the peace of the *English* and *Indians*, about which the said Governour did write to *R.W.*

Sir, I have often feared and said within my Soule, Have I so deeply *loved* and respected? Was I also so well *beloved?* Or was all *counterfeit*, and but guilded o'e with earthly Respects, Worldly ends, &c. Why am I silent? my Letters are not *Banished!* may be wellcome, may be seene and heard, and if neither, yet will back againe (together with my *prayers* and cries) into my *Bosome*.

Great love formerly between the said Governour *Endicot*, and *R. W.* before his Banishment.

Thus while I have sometimes mused and resolved! *Objections*, *Obstructions*, and a thousand hindrances (I feare from *Sathan* as *Paul* said) have prest in, held my hand, &c.

Sir, It hath pleased the Father of *Spirits* at this present to smite my heart in the very breaking up of your Letter: This * *Deaths Head* tells that loving *Hand* that seald it, and mine that opens your *Letter*, that our *Eyes*, our *Hands*, our *Tongues*, our

* The Seale wherewith the Governours Leter to *R. W.* was sealed.

our *Braines* are flying hence to the hole or pit of *Rottennes*: Why ſhould not therefore ſuch our *Letters*, ſuch our *Speeches*, ſuch our *Actings* be, as may become our laſt *minutes*, our *Death-beds*? &c.

If ſo, how *meeke* and *humble*, how *plaine* and *ſerious*, how *faithfull* and *zealous*, and yet how tender and *loving* ſhould the *Spirits* and *Speeches* be of dying and departing Men?

Sir, While ſomething of this Nature I muſe over your *Deaths head*, I meete (in the Entrance of your Letter) with this "paſſage [*Were I as free in my ſpirit as formerly I have been to write* "*unto you, you ſhould have received another manner of Saluta tion then* "*now with a good Conſcience I can Expreſſe; However God knoweth* "*who are his, and what he is pleaſed to hide from ſinfull man in this* "*life, ſhall in that great Day be manifeſted to All.*]

Sir, At the reading of this Line, (I cannot but hope I have your leave to tell you) The ſpeech of that wiſe Woman of *Tekoah* unto *David* came freſh unto my Thoughts: Speakes not the *King* this Thing as one that is *Guiltie*? For will my honoured and beloved friend not know me for feare of being diſowned by his *Conſcience*? Shall the *Goodnes* and *Integritie* of his *Conſcience* to *God* cauſe him to forget me? Doth he quiet his minde with this; [*God* knoweth who are his? *God* hides from ſinfull man, *God* will reveale before All?] Oh how comes it then that I have heard ſo often, and heard ſo lately, and heard ſo much, that he that ſpeakes ſo tenderly for his owne, hath yet ſo little reſpect, mercie or pitie to the like *conſciencious* perſwaſions of other Men? Are all the Thouſands of *millions* of *millions* of *Conſciences*, at home and abroad, fuell onely for a *priſon*, for a *whip*, for a *ſtake*, for a *Gallowes*? Are no *Conſciences* to breath the *Aire*, but ſuch as ſuit and ſample his? May not the *moſt High* be pleaſed to hide from his as well as from the eyes of his fellow-*Servants*, fellow-*mankinde*, fellow *Engliſh*? And if *God* hide from his, from any, who can diſcover? Who can ſhut when he will open? and who can open, when he that hath the key of *David* will ſhut? All this and more (honoured Sir) your words will warrant me to ſay, without any juſt offence or ſtraining.

Perſecutours conclude no *Conſcience* in the whole World but their owne.

Object. But what makes this to *Heretickes*, *Blaſphemers*, *Seducers*, to them that ſin againſt their *Conſcience* (as Mr. *Cotton* ſayth)

ſayth) after *Conviction?* What makes this to ſtobbers of *Kings* and *Princes*, to blowers up of *Parliaments* out of *Conſcience?*

Firſt, I anſwer, He was a *Tyrant* that put an Innocent Man into a *Beares*-skin, and ſo cauſed him as a wild *Beaſt* to be baited to Death.

Secondly, I ſay, this is the common *cry* of *Hunters* or *perſecutours* [*Hereticks*, *Hereticks*, *Blaſphemers*, &c.] and why, but for croſſing the perſecutours *Conſciences*, (it may be but their ſuperſtitions,&c.) whether *Turkiſh*, *Popiſh*, *Proteſtant*, &c.

All perſecutours render the moſt innocent moſt odious.

This is the Outcry of the *Pope* and *Prelates*, and of the *Scotch Presbyterians*, who would fire all the world, to be avenged on the *Sectarian Heretickes*, the blaſphemous *Heretickes*, the ſeducing *Heretickes*, &c. had it not pleaſed the God of Heaven who bounds the inſolent Rage of the furious *Ocean*, to raiſe up a ſecond *Cromwell* (like a mighty and mercifull *Wall* or *Bullwark*) to ſtay the Furie of the *Oppreſſour*, whether *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh*, *Popiſh*, *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, &c.

Cromwell the ſecond, a Refuge of the oppreſſed.

Laſtly, I have ſaid much and lately, and given particular Anſwers to all ſuch pleas, in my Second Reply or Anſwer to Mr *Cottons* waſhing of the *Bloudie Tenent* in the *Lambes* bloud, which it may be is not yet come to your ſight and Hand.

This Rejoynder was ſent to *England* long ſince, and hoped to have been publiſhed.

'Tis true, I have to ſay elſewhere about the *Cauſes* of my *Baniſhment* : As to the calling of *Naturall* Men to the exerciſe of thoſe holy *Ordinances* of *Prayers*, *Oathes*, &c. As to the frequenting of *Pariſh Churches*, under the pretence of hearing *ſome Miniſters:* As to the matter of the *Patent*, and King *James* his *Chriſtianitie* and *Title* to theſe parts, and beſtowing it on his Subjects by vertue of his being a *Chriſtian King*, &c.

At preſent, let it not be offenſive in your eyes, that I ſingle out another, a fourth point, a cauſe of my *Baniſhment* alſo, wherein I greatly feare one or two ſad evills, which have befallen your *Soule* and *Conſcience*.

The point is that of the *Civill Magiſtrates* dealing in matters of *Conſcience* and *Religion*, as alſo of perſecuting and hunting any for any matter meerly *Spirituall* and *Religious*.

The two Evills intimated are theſe ; Firſt, I feare you cannot after ſo much *Light*, and ſo much profeſſion to the contrary (not onely to my ſelfe, and ſo often in private, but) before ſo many Witneſſes ; I ſay, I feare you cannot ſay and

act so much, against so many severall *Consciences*, former and later, but with great *Checks*, great *Threatnings*, great *Blowes* and *Throwes* of inward *Conscience*.

Abuse of light most dangerous.

Secondly, If you shall thanke *God*, that it is not so with you, but that you doe what *Conscience* bids you in *Gods* presence, upon *Gods* warrant, I must then be humbly faithfull to tell you, that I feare your underprizing of holy *Light*, hath put out the *Candle*, and the *Eye* of *Conscience* in these particulars, and that *Delusions*, strong *Delusions*, and that from *God* (by *Sathans* subtletie) hath seasd upon your very *Soules* beliefe, because you priz'd not lov'd not the indangered persecuted Son of *God* in his despised *Truths* and *Servants*.

Sir, With Man (as the *Lord Jesus* said of the *Rich man*) I know it is impossible for the (otherwise piercing) *eye* of your understanding to see into these things, for it is *discoloured*, as in some *Diseases* and *Glasses*; It is impossible for your *Will* to be willing to see, for that's in a thousand chaines resolved (as once you spake *heroically* and *heavenly* in a better way) to spend your dearest *Heart bloud* in your way, &c. Yet with *God* all things are possible, and they that laughed the *Lord Jesus* to scorne when he said, the *Damsell* is not *dead* but *sleepeth*, were afterwards confounded, when they saw her raised by his heavenly voice.

His holy pleasure I know not, nor doe I know which way the *Glory* of his great Name will more appeare, either in finally suffering so great a *fall* and *ruine* of so strong a *pillar*, that *Flesh* may not *Glory*, but that his *strength* and *Glory* onely may be seene in *Weaknesse*. Or else in your holy *Rising* and *Reviving* from the *Bed* of so much spirituall filthines, and from so *bloudie* a *minde*, and *lip*, and *hand*, against *all withstanders* or *Disturbers* in it. That so the short *Remainder* of your *Candle* may hould out to the World, the *Riches* of his *Mercy*, at whose words the holyest of his Servants ought to tremble, and to work out their Salvation with feare and trembling: I say (I desire to say it, tremblingly and mournfully) I know not which way he will please to raise his *Glory*) onely I know my *Dutie*, my *Conscience*, my *Love*, all which inforce me to knock, to call to cry at the Gate of *Heaven*, and at *Yours*, and to present you with this loving, though lowd and faithfull noyse and sound of a few

few Grounds of deeper Examination of both our *Soules* and *Consciences* uprightly and impartially at the holy and dreadfull *Tribunall* of Him that is appointed the *Judge* of all the *Living* and the *Dead.*

Be pleased then (honoured Sir) to remember that that thing which we call *Conscience* is of such a Nature (especially in *English-men*) as once a *Pope* of *Rome* at the suffering of an *English-man* in *Rome*, himselfe observed) that although it be groundles, false, and deluded, yet is it not by any *Arguments* or *Torments* easily removed.

I speake not of the streame of the multitude of all *Nations*, which have their *ebbings* and *flowings* in *Religion*, (as the longest *Sword*, and strongest *Arme* of *Flesh* carries it) But I speake of *Conscience*, a *perswasion* fixed in the minde and heart of a man, which inforceth him to judge (as *Paul* said of himselfe a *persecutour*) and to doe so and so, with respect to *God*, his worship, &c.

The power of Conscience though Erroneous.

This *Conscience* is found in all mankinde, more or lesse, in *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Papists*, *Protestants*, *Pagans*, &c. And to this purpose let me freely without offence remember you (as I did Mr *Clarke* newly come up from his sufferings amongst you) I say, remember you of the same *Story* I did him, twas that of *William Hartly* in Queene *Elizabeth* her dayes, who receiving the Sentence of *hanging*, *drawing*, &c. spake confidently (as afterward he suffered) what tell you me of *hanging*, &c. If I had ten thousand millions of *lives*, I would spend them all for the *Faith* of *Rome*, &c.

Sir, I am far from glancing the least Countenance on the *Consciences* of *Papists*, yea or on some *Scotch* and *English Protestants* too, who turne up all *Rootes*, and lay all *levell* and in bloud, for exaltation of their owne *way* and *Conscience*. All that I observe is, that *Boldnes* and *Confidence*, *Zeale* and *Resolution*, as it is commendable in a kinde when it seriously respects a *Dietie*, so also, the greatest *Confidence* hath sometimes need of the greatest *Search* and *Examination*.

I confesse, that for Confidence no *Romish Priest* hath ever exceeded the holy *Martyrs* or *Witnesses* of *Jesus*. Witnes (amongst so many) that holy *English Woman*, who cryed out, that if every *haire* of her head were a *life* or man, they should burne

True & false Witnesses both Confident.

for the Name of the *Lord Jesus*: But Sir, your *Principles* and *Conscience* binde you, not to respect *Romish* or *English*, *Saints* or *Sinners*: *William Heartly*, and that *Woman*, with all their *lives*, you are bound by your *Conscience* to punish (and it may be) to hang or burne, if they transgresse against your *Conscience*, and that because (according to Mr *Cottons* monstrous *Distinction* (as some of his chiefe *Brethren* to my knowledge have called it) not because they sinne in matters of *Conscience*, (which he denies the *Magistrate* to deale in) but because they sinne against their *Conscience*.

Secondly, It is so notoriously knowne, that the *Consciences* of the most holy men, zealous for *God* & his *Christ* to *Death* and *Admiration*, yea even in our owne Countrey, and in Queen *Maries* dayes especially, have been so grossly misslead by mistaken *Consciences* in matters concerning the *worship* of *God*, the comming out of the *Antichristian Babell*, and the *Rebuilding* of the spirituall *Jerusalem*, that I need but hint who were they that pend the *Common prayer* (in its Time, as glorious an *Idoll*, and as much adored by *Godly persons*, as any *Invention* now extant) I say, who they were that lived and dyed (five in the flames) zealous for their *Bishopricks*, yea and some too too zealous for their Popish *Ceremonies*, against the doubting *Consciences* of their Brethren: At which and more, we that now have risen in our *Fathers* stead, wonder and admire how such piercing *eyes* could be deceived, such *Watchmen* blinded and deluded. But

The Common Prayers & the Composers of it.

Thirdly, We shall not so much wonder when we lift up our trembling *eyes* to *Heaven*, and remember our selves (poore dust) that our *Thoughts* are not as the *Thoughts* of our *Maker*; that, that which in the eyes of man (as the *Lord Jesus* tells us, *Luc.* 16.) is of high and sweet esteeme, it stincks and is abomination with *God*: Hence such *Worships*, such *Churches*, such glorious *professions* & *practices* may be, as may ravish *themselves* and the *beholders*, when with the piercing *eyes* of the most *High*, they may looke *counterfeit* and ugly, and be found but (spiritually) *Whores*, and *Abominations*.

What's sweet with man, stinks (often) in Gods nostrills.

Fourthly, When men use to inquire, what *Motives*, what *Occasions*, what *Snares*, what *Temptations* were there, which mooved, which drew, which allured, &c. This is the *Apologie* which

which the five *Apologists* (Mr *Goodwin*, Mr *Nye*, &c.) made to the *Parliament*, to wit, That they were not tempted with the moulding of New *Common-wealths*, after which they might be mooved to frame their *Religion*, &c.

Surely Sir, the *Baits*, the *Temptations*, the *Snares* laid to catch you, were not few, nor *common*, nor laid to every foote. *Saul* pretended *zeale* to the Name of *God*, and love to *Israel* in persecuting the poore *Gibeonites* to death, but Honour me before the people, was the maine *Engine* that turned the *Wheeles* of all his *Actions* and *Devotions*. What set *Jeroboams* braines to consult and plot the *Invention* of a new *Religion*, *Worship*, *Priests*, &c. but *Honour*, & the feare of the losse of his gained *honour?* What moved *Jehu* to be false and halting with *God* after so much glorious *zeale* in *Reformation?* Yea I had almost said, what mooved *David* to stob *Vriah* (the fire of *God*) with his pen, but the feare of dishonour in the Discovery of his sin, though doubtles there was some mixtures of the feare of his *Gods* displeasure and dishonour also?

Sathans policie in proposing Motives and Baits to wise and excellent Saints.

Sir, it is no small offer, the *choice* and *applause* and *Rule* over so many *Townes*, so many *holy*, so many *wise*, in such a holy *way* as you believe you are in: To say nothing of *strong drinkes* and *wines*, the *fat* and *sweet* of *this* and other *Lands:* These and others are snares which without abundant strength from *God* will catch and hould the strongest feete: Sir, I have knowne you strong, in repelling strong *Temptations*, but I cannot but feare and lament, that some of these and others have been too strong and potent with you.

Fifthly, We not onely use to say proverbially, but the Spirit of *God* expresly tells us, that there is a *minde-bewitching*, a *bewitching* of the very *Consciences* and *spirits* of men. That as in *Witchcraft*, a *stronger* and supernaturall *power* layes hould upon the powers of *Nature*, with a suppressing or elevating of those powers beneath or above themselves: So is it with the very *Spirits* and *Consciences* of the most *Intelligent* and *Conscientious*, when the *Father* of *Spirits* is pleased in his righteous displeasure and jealousie, so to suffer it to be with ours.

Spirituall Witchcraft.

Sir, I from my Soule *honour* and *love* the persons of such, whom I, you, and themselves may see have been *Instrumentall* in your *bewitchin* Why should it be thought inconsistent with the

the holy wisdome of *God* to permit *wise* and *holy* and *learned* persons to *wander* themselves and *mislead* others; when the holy *Scripture* and *Experience* tells us of the dangerous *Councells* and *wayes* of as *wise* and *learned* and *holy* as now breath in either *Old* or *New English* aire?

Sir, I had thought to have named one or two, who may justly be suspected (though otherwise worthily beloved) but I have chose rather to present an hint, for thats enough to so *intelligent* a Breast, if but willing to make an Impartiall *Review* and *Examination* of Passages between the most *High* and your inmost *Soule* in secret.

Therefore sixthly, for a fixt ground of suspecting your *Soule* and *Spirit* and *Conscience* in this particular of *persecution*, which I now instance in, may you please, Sir, without offence to remember, that as it is in such as have exceeded in *Wine*, their *speech* will bewray them: So it is in Spirituall *Cups* and *Intoxications*.

Mysticall Drunkennesse and the drunken Language of it.

The *Maker* and *Searcher* of our hearts knowes with what *Bitternes* I write, as with *Bitternes* of Soule I have heard such *Language* as this to proceed from your selfe and others, who formerly have fled from (with crying out against) persecutours! [you will say, this is your *Conscience*: You will say, you are *persecuted*, and you are *persecuted* for your *Conscience*: No, you are *Conventiclers*, *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*: You deserve to be *hanged*, rather then one shall be wanting to *hang* him I will hang him my selfe: I am resolved not to leave an *Heretick* in the *Countrey*; I had rather so many *Whores* and *VVhoremongers* and *Thieves* came amongst us:] Oh Sir, you cannot forget what *Language* and *Dialect* this is, whether not the same unsavourie, and ungodly, blasphemous and *bloudie*, which the *Gardiners* and *Bonners* both former and later used to all that bowed not to the *State* goulden *Image* of what *Conscience* soever they were. And indeed, Sir, if the most *High* be pleased to awaken you to render unto his holy *Majestie* his due praises, in your truely broken-hearted *Confessions* and *Supplications*, you will then proclaime to all the *VVorld*, that what profession soever you made of the *Lambe*, yet these *Expressions* could not proceed but from the *Dragons* mouth.

The language of persecutours.

Oh remember, and the most holy *Lord* bring it to your *Remem-*

membrance, that you have now a great price in your hand, to bring great *Glory* to his holy Name, great *Rejoycing* to so gracious a *Redeemer* (in whom you professe is all your *Healing* and *Salvation*) great *Rejoycing* to the holy *Spirit* of all true *Consolation*, whom yet so long you have grieved and sadded, great *Rejoycing* to those blessed *Spirits* (attending upon the *Lambe*, and all his, and terrible to his *persecutours*) great *Rejoycing* and *Instruction* to all that love, the true *Lord Jesus* (notwithstanding their wandrings among so many false *Christs*) mourning and lamenting after him in all parts of the World where his Name is sounded: Your *Tallents* are great, your *Fall* hath been so: Your *Eminencie* is great, the *Glory* of the most *High* in *Mercy* or *Justice* toward you will be great also.

A price and a Heart blessed Companions.

Oh remember it is a dangerous Combat for the *Potsheards* of the Earth to fight with their dreadfull *Potter*: It is a dismall *Battle* for poore naked *feete* to kick against the *Pricks*; It is a dreadfull *voyce* from the *King* of *Kings*, and *Lord* of *Lords*, *Endicot*, *Endicot*, why *huntest* thou *me*? why *imprisonest* thou *me*? why *finest*, why so bloudily *whippest*, why wouldest thou (did not I hould thy *bloudie* hands) *hang* and *burne me*? Yea Sir, I beseech you remember that it is a dangerous thing to put this to the *may be*, to the *venture* or *hazzard*, to the *possibilitie*: Is it possible (may you well say) that since I *hunt*, I *hunt* not the *life* of my *Saviour*, and the bloud of the Lambe of *God*: I have fought against many severall sorts of *Consciences*, is it beyond all *possibilitie* and *hazard*, that I have not fought against *God*, that I have not persecuted *Jesus* in some of them?

The horrible & dangerous path which all persecutours or Hunters walke in.

Sir, I must be humbly bold to say, that 'tis impossible for any Man or Men to maintaine their *Christ* by the *Sword*, and to worship a true *Christ*! to fight against all *Consciences* opposite to theirs, and not to fight against *God* in some of them, and to hunt after the precious life of the true *Lord Jesus Christ*: Oh remember whether your *Principles* and *Consciences* must in time and opportunitie force you. 'Tis but worldly *policie* and *Compliance* with Men and Times (*Gods* mercy over-ruling) that houlds your hands from *murthering* of thousands and ten thousands, were your *Power* and *Command* as great as once the bloudie *Roman Emperours* was.

The least sparke of persecution tends to bloud, and will proceed, except God mightily stop it.

The truth is (and your selfe and others have said it) by your *Prin-*

Principles such whom you count *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, ought to be put to *Death*; You cannot be faithfull to your *Principles* and *Consciences*, if you satisfie them with but *imprisoning*, *fining*, *whipping* and *banishing* the *Hereticks*, and by saying that *banishing* is a kinde of *Death*, as some chiefe with you (in my case formerly) have said it.

Sir, 'Tis like you knew or have heard of the man that said he would never *Conforme* publikely, although he did *subscribe* in private for his Libertie sake of *Preaching*: That, although he did *conforme* in *some* things, yet in *all* he never would: That, although he did *himselfe* yeeld, yet he would not molest and *inforce* others: That although he yeelded, that *others* did molest them, yet himselfe would never *persecute*, and yet did all.

But oh poore dust and Ashes, like *stones* once roling downe the *Alpes*, like the *Indian Canoes* or *English Boats* loose and adrift, where stop we untill infinite mercy stop us, especially when a false fire of *zeale* and *Conscience* drives us, (though against the most holy and eternall himselfe?)

Gods most dreadfull Judgements against persecutours.

Oh remember the black *Catalogues* it hath pleased the most jealous and righteous *God* to make of his fierie *Judgements* and most dreadfull stoakes on Eminent and remarkeable *persecutours* even in this life. It hath been his way and course in all Countries, in *Germanie*, *France* and *England*, (especially) what ever their pretences have been against *Hereticks*, *Rebells*, *Schismaticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c. How hath he left them to be their owne *Accusers*, *Judges*, *Executioners*, some by *hanging*, some by *stobbing*, some by *drowning* and *poysoning* themselves, some by rnnning *mad*, and some by *drinking* in the very same *Cup* which they had filld to others?

Some may say, Such *persecutours* hunted *God and Christ*, but I, but we, &c. I answer, the *Lord Jesus Christ* foretold how wonderfully the wisest of the World, should be mistaken in the things of *Christ*, and a true visible *Christ Jesus!* When did we see thee *naked*, *hungry*, *thirstie*, *sicke*, *in prison*, &. How easie, how common, how dreadfull these *mistakes?*

Death is a *Boanerges*.

Oh remember once againe (as I began) and I humbly desire to remember with you, that every gray haire now on both our heads, is a *Boanerges*, a sonne of *Thunder*, and a warning piece

to

to prepare us, for the waighing of our last *Anchors*, and to be gone from hence, as if we had never been.

'Twas mercy infinite, that stopt provoked *Justice* from blowing out our *Candles* in our *youths*, but now the *feeding Substance* of the *Candle's* gone, and 'tis impossible (without repentance,) to recall our *Actions!* nay, with *repentance*, to recall our *minutes* past us.

Gray hayres are Gods Alarums.

Sir, I know I have much presumed upon your many waighty *affaires* and *thoughts*, I end with an humble cry to the *Father* of *mercies*, that you may take *Davids Counsell*; and silently commune with your owne heart upon your *Bed*, reflect upon your owne *spirit*, and believe Him that said it to his overzealous *Disciples*, You know not what *spirit* you are of: That, no sleepe may seize upon your *eyes*, nor slumber upon your *eye-lids*, untill your serious thoughts have *seriously*, *calmely*, and *unchangeably* (through helpe from *Christ Jesus*) fixed

First, On a *Moderation* toward the *Spirits* and *Consciences* of all mankinde, meerly differing from or opposing yours with onely Religious and Spirituall *opposition*.

Secondly, A deepe and cordiall *Resolution* (in these wonderfull searching, disputing, and dissenting times) to search, to listen, to pray, to fast, and more fearefully, more tremblingly to enquire what the holy *pleasure*, and the holy *mysteries* of the most *Holy* are; In whom I humbly desire to be

Your poore fellow-Servant, unfainedly,
respective and faithfull,

R. VVilliams.

An APPENDIX:

To the *Cleargie* of the foure great *Parties* (professing the Name of *Christ Jesus*) in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, viz. The *Popish*, *Prelaticall*, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent*.

WORTHY SIRS;

Have pleaded the Cause of your severall and respective *Consciences* (against the bloudie Doctrine of *Persecution*) in my former Labours, and in this my present *Rejoynder* to Mr *Cotton*:

And yet I must pray leave without offence to say, I have impartially oppos'd and charg'd your *Consciences* also, so farre as *Guiltie* of that *bloudie* Doctrine of persecuting each other for your *Consciences*.

The seameles Coat of Christ Jesus torne into foure pieces, and the three Nations torne into Thousands.

You *foure* have torne the seameles Coate of the Son of *God* into *foure* pieces, and (to say nothing of former *Times* and *Tearings*) you *foure* have torne the three *Nations* into thousands of *pieces* and *Distractions*.

The two former of you, the *Popish* and (*Protestant*) *Prelaticall*, are *Brethren*: So are the latter, the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*: But, oh, how *Rara est*, &c? What *Concord*, what *Love*, what *pitie* hath ever yet appear'd amongst you, when the *providence* of the most *High* and onely *wise* hath granted you your *Patterns* of mutuall and successive *Dominion* and *precedencie*?

The Battells of the *Cleargie*.

Just like two men, whom I have knowne breake out to *Blowes* and *Wrastling*, so have the *Protestant Bishops* fought and wrastled with the *Popish*, and the *Popish* with the *Protestant*! The *Presbyterian* with the *Independent*, and the *Independent* with the *Presby-*

Presbyterian! And our *Chronicles* and *Experiences* have told this *Nation*, and the *World*, how he whose *Turne* it is to be brought under, hath ever felt an heavie wrathfull hand of an *unbrotherly* and unchriſtian *perſecutour*:

Meane while, what *outcries* for a *Sword*, a *Sword* at any *price*, on any *Tearmes*, wherewith to take finall *Revenges*, on ſuch their *Blaſphemous* and *Hereticall* Adverſaries and Corrivalls? All Court the Magiſtrate for his Sword,

Hence is it, that the *Magiſtrate* hath been ſo courted, his perſon *adored* and *Deified*, and *his Religion* magnified and *Exalted*. &

Amongſt the *People*, ſome have thought and ſaid, How hath the ſhining of the *Magiſtrates Money* and *Sword*, out-ſhin'd the *Nobilitie* of his *perſon*, or the *Chriſtianitie* of his *Conſcience?* For when the *perſon* changes and *Religion* too, how groſſely notorious have been the *Cleargies* Changes alſo? For Inſtance, how have they *Pernified*, tack't and turn'd about (as the wind hath blowne) from *Poperie* to *Proteſtaniſme*, from *Proteſtaniſme* to *Poperie*, and from *Poperie* to *Proteſtaniſme* againe, and this within the Compaſſe of about a dozen yeares; as the *Purſe* and *Sword-Bearers* were changed, what ever the perſons of thoſe *Princes* (*male* or *female*, *Men* or *Children*, or their *Conſciences*, *Popiſh* or *Proteſtant*) were. his Money. For which, any perſon and Religion hath ſerv'd the Turne.

Yea, how juſtly in the late *Kings* book (if his) are the *Cleargie* of *England* charged with horrible breach of *Vows* and *Oaths* of *canonicall* obedience to their *Fathers* the *Biſhops*, againſt whom (in the *Turne* of the *Times* and the *Sword-Bearers*) they turned to the *Scotch Presbyters*, their fathers dreadful Enemies and *perſecutours?* The late K. charging his *Cleargie*, &c.

Now as to the *perſecuting* each of other, I confeſſe the *Wolfe* (the *perſecutour*,) devoures the *Goate*, the *Swine*, yea the very *Fox*, and other Creatures, as well as the inoffenſive *Sheepe* and *Lambe?* Yet (as the *Lord Jeſus* made uſe of that excellent *Fable* or Similitude of a *Wolfe* getting on a *Sheepes*-skin, ſo) may I not unſeaſonably make uſe of that of the *Wolfe* and the poore *Lambe* coming downe to drinke, upon the ſame Brooke and Streame together: The *Wolfe cruell* and *ſtrong* drinks *above* and aloft: The *Lambe innocent* and *weake*, drinks upon the Streame *below*: The *Wolfe* queſtions and quarrells the *Lambe* for corrupting and defiling the Waters: The *Lambe* The *Wolfe* in plea with the *Lambe*, will be alwaies Judge.

(not daring to plead how easily the *Wolfe* drinking higher might transfer *Defilement* downeward, but) pleads *Improbabilitie* and *Impossibilitie*, that the waters descending could convey defilement upwards: This is the *Controversie*, This the *plea*: But who shall *judge?* Be the *Lambe* never so innocent, his plea never so just, his Adversary the *Wolfe* will be his *Judge*, and being so cruell and so strong soone teares the *Lambe* in pieces.

Thus the cruell *Beast* arm'd with the power of the *Kings* (*Revel.* 17.) sits Judge in his owne Quarrels against the *Lambe*, about the drinking at the *Waters*. And thus (sayth Mr *Cotton*) the Judgement ought to passe upon the *Heretick*, not for matter of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*.

Object. Me-thinks I heare, the great charge against the *Independent* partie to be the great pleaders for *Libertie* of *Conscience*, &c.

Answ. Oh the horrible *Deceipt* of the hearts of the sons of Men! And, what Excellent *Physick* can we prescribe to others, till our Soule (as *Job* said) come to be in their soules cases? What need have we to be more vile (with *Job*) before God, to walke in holy sence of selfe-Insufficiencie, to cry for the blessed *Leadings* of the holy *Spirit* of *God*, to guide and leade our *Heads* and *Hearts* uprightly?

The wonderful Mysterie of Libertie of Conscience.

For (to draw the *Curtaine*, and let in the *Light* a little) doe not all *persecutours* themselves zealously plead for *Freedome*, for *Libertie*, for *Mercie* to Mens *Consciences*, when themselves are in the *Grates*, and *Pits*, and under *Hatches?*

Doth not *Gesner* tell us of a Gentleman in *Germanie*, who fitting his *Pitfall* for *Wilde Beasts*, found in the morning a *Woman*, a *Wolfe*, and a *Fox* in three severall Corners, as full of Feare, and as quiet, and as desirous of Libertie one as well as another?

Which all persecutours themselves (in their turnes) plead for.

Thus bloudie *Gardiner* and *Bonner* (prisoners, during King *Edwards* dayes) yea and that bloudie Queene *Mary* her selfe, all plead the Freedome of their *Consciences*. What most humble Supplications, and indeed unanswerable Arguments for *Libertie* of *Conscience* have the *Papists* (when in Restraint) presented, (and especially in King *James* his time? Yea what excellent *Subscriptions* to this Soule-Freedome, are interwoven in many passages of the late *Kings* Booke (if his)? Yea and one of his

K. *Charles* and his Chaplains forced to subscribe to Libertie of Conscience.

Chaplaines

Chaplaines (so cald) Doctor *Jer. Taylour*, what an Everlasting Monumentall *Testimony* did he publish to this *Truth*, in that his excellent Discourse, of *the Libertie of Prophesying?* Yea the (formerly) Non-conforming *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, *Scotch* and *English*, *Old* and *New*, what most humble and pious Addresses have they made before the whole World, to *Princes* and *Parliaments*, for just mercy (in true Petitions of Right) to their *Consciences?* But, let this present Discourse, and Mr *Cottons* Fig-leave *Evasions* and *Distinctions*: Let the *practices* (of the *Massachusets*) in *New England*, in twenty yeares *persecution*: and this last of Mr *Clarke*, *Obadiah Holmes*, and others be Examined: Yea let the *Independent Ministers* late Proposalls be waighed, with the double waight of *Gods* Sanctuary, and it will appeare what *Mercy* the poore Soules of *all* Men, and *Jesus Christ* in any of them, may expect from the very *Independents Cleargie* themselves.

About Twenty years persecution in *New England*.

Object. But doth not their *Proposalls* provide a *Libertie* to such as feare *God*, viz. that they may freely preach without an *Ordination!* and that such as are not free to the publike *Assemblies* may have Libertie to meete in private.

Answ. It may so please the *Father* of *Lights* to shew them that their *Lines* and *Modells*, and *New-Englands* Copie also (after which they write and pensill,) are but more and more refined *Images*, whereby to worship the *Invisible God*: and that still (as before) the *Wolfe* (the *persecutour*) must judge of the *Lambes* drinking!

The persecution of the *New* and *Old English Independent Cleargie*.

For instance; *New Englands* Lawes (lately published in Mr *Clarks Narrative*) tell us *how free* it shall be for people to gather themselves into *Church*-estate? *how free* to choose their owne *Ministers? how free* to enjoy all the *Ordinances* of *Christ Jesus*, &c? But yet, provided, so- and so (upon the point) that the *Civill State* must judge of the *Spirituall*, to wit, *Whether* persons be fit for *Church*-estate, *Whether* the *Gathering* be *right*, *Whether* the peoples *choice* be *right*, *Doctrines right*, and what is this in truth, but to sweare that blasphemous *Oath* of *Supremacie* againe, to the *Kings* and *Queenes* and *Magistrates* of this and other Nations in stead of the *Pope*, &c?

Into these *Prisons*, and *Cages*, doe those (otherwise worthy and excellent Men, the) *Independents*, put all the Children of *God*,

God, and all the Children of *Men* in the whole World, and then bid them *flie* and *walke* at *Libertie* (to wit, within the Conjured *Circle*) so far as they please.

A briefe touch upon the 15 Proposalls of the (so calld) *Independent Ministers*.

To particularize briefely: When they have in their six severall *Circuits* ejected (according to their Proposalls) it may be hundreths, it may be thousands (if impartiall) of *Episcopall* and *Presbyterian Ministers*, and that without & against their *Peoples consent*, to the present Distressing of thousands, and inraging (through such *Soul-oppressions*) the whole *Nation!* Then, say they, it shalbe free for all that be able, &c. to be *Preachers*, though not ordained, &c. But, provided, that two *Ministers* hands (at least, which upon the point, is instead of an *Ordination*) be to their *Approbation*, &c. Upon this *lock* any shall be free to preach *Christ Jesus*, upon this *point* of the *Compasse* (as I may in humble reverence, and with sorrow speake it) the *Spirit* of *God* shall be free to *breath* and *operate* in the Soules of Men! By this *Plummet* and *Line*, *Rule* and *Square*, and (seeming) *Goulden Reede* and *Meete-wand*, the *Sanctuary* must be built and measured, &c.

The *Independents* implicitly and silently challenge the power of Ordination.

But further, if any shall be of tender *Consciences*, and that the common size will not serve their *foote*, if they shall thinke the *Independents Foundations* too *weak*, or it may be too *strong* for their weake *Beliefe*, if they cannot bow downe to their Goulden *Image*, though of the finest and latest *Edition* and *Fashion*: Why *God* forbid they should be forc'd to *Church* as others, they shall enjoy their *Libertie*, and meereapart in private: But, provided, they acquaint the Civill *Magistrate*, that is, as it may fall out (who knows how soon?) and too too often hath faln out, the poore *Sheepe* and *Deere* of *Christ* must take *Licence* of and *betray* themselves unto the *pawes* and *jawes* of their Lyon-like *persecutours*.

The Danger of pawning spirituall Liberties to Civill powers.

Heare Oh *Heavens*, give Eare O *Earth!* What is this but like the Treacherous *Dutchmen*, who Capitulate of *Leagues* of *Peace* and *Amitie*, with their *Neighbour English*, and in the midst of *State Complements* (some say, out of malicious *wrath*, others say twas out of drunken *Intoxications* at the best) thunder out *Broad-sides* of Fire and Smoake of *persecution?*

The *Dutch* Attempts, and the *Independents*, on their Friends, compared.

Object. Some possibly may say, Your just suffring from the *Independents* in *New England* makes you speake *Revenges* against them in *Old*.

Answ.

Answ. What I have suffred in my *Estate, Body, Name, Spirit,* I hope through helpe from *Christ,* and for his sake I have desired to beare with a *Spirit* of *patience* and of *respect* and *love,* even to my *persecutours.* As to particulars, I have, and must (if God so will) further debate them with my truely honoured and beloved *Adversarie* Mr *Cotton.*

But as to you, worthy Sirs, (men of *Learning*, and men of personall *Holines* many of you) I truely desire to be far from envying your *Honours, pleasures,* and *Revennues,* from whence the two former *Popish* & *Prelaticall* are ejected, unto which the two later *Presbyterian* and *Independent* are advanced: Nor would I move a *Tongue* or *pen* that any of you now possessed, should be removed or disturbed, untill your *Consciences* by the holy Spirit of *God,* or the *Consciences* of the *people,* to whom you serve or minister, shall be otherwayes (then as you are yet) perswaded.

The Authours desire as to the Ministrie of the Land now possessed.

Much rather would I make another humble *plea* (and that I believe with all the *Reason* and *Justice* in the World) that such who are ejected, undone, impoverished, might some way from the *State* or *you* receive *reliefe* and *succour:* Considering, that the very *Nations* Constitution hath occasioned *parents* to traine up, & *persons* to give themselves to *studies* (though in truth, but in a way of *Trade* & *Bargaining,* before *God*) yet, 'tis according to the *Custome* of the *Nation,* who ought therefore to share also, in the fault of such *Priests* and *Ministers* who in all changes are *ejected.*

And as to that Ejected.

I end with humble begging to the *Father* of *Spirits*, to perswade and possesse yours with a true sence of three *particulars:*

The Authour begs three things of *God* for the *Clearge* of *England.*

First, of the *yoakes* of *Soule-oppression*, which lye upon the necks of most of the *Inhabitants* of the 3 *Nations,* & of the whole world: as if *Chams* Curse from *Noah* were upon them, *Servants* of *Servants* are they, and that in the matters of the *Soules* Affection unto *God,* which call for the purest *Libertie:* I confesse the *World* lyes in *wickednesse*, and loveth darknesse more then *light:* but why should you helpe on those *yoaks,* and force them to receive a *Doctrine,* to pray, to give thanks, &c. without an *Heart?* yea and (in the many changes and cases incident) against their *Heart* and Soules Consent?

Soule-Bondage the greatest.

Secondly, of the *bloudines* of that most bloudie *Doctrine* of *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, with all the *Winding Staires* and *back dores* of it, &c. Some *professors* true and false, *Sheepe*

and

and *Goats*, are daily found to differ in their *Apprehensions*, *perswasions*, *professions*, and that to Bonds and Death.

What now, shall these be wrackt, their *Soules*, their *Bodies*, their *purses*, &c? Yea if they refuse, deny, oppose the *Doctrine* of *Christ Jesus*, whether *Jewes* or *Gentiles*, why should you call for *Fire* from *Heaven*, which suits not with *Christ Jesus* his *Spirit* or *Ends*? Why should you compell them to come in, with any other *Sword*, but that of the *Spirit* of *God*, who alone perswaded *Japhet* to come into the Tents of *Shem*, and can in his holy season prevaile with *Shem* to come into the Tents of *Japhet*?

The Bloudinesse of the *Bloudie Tenent*.

Thirdly, Of that *Biass* of selfe-love which hales and swayes our minds to hould so fast this bloudie *Tenent*: You know it is the *Spirit* of *Love* from *Christ Jesus*, that turns our feete from the *Tradition* of *Fathers*, &c. That sets the *Heart* and *Tongue* and *Pen* and *Hands* too (as *Pauls*) day and night to work, rather then the *progresse* and *puritie* and *simplicitie* of the *Crowne* of *Christ Jesus* should be debased or hindred.

Little of the Spirit of Love from Christ Jesus yet extant, and our selfe-love biasseth us to Inventions, Traditions, and Doctrines of persecutions.

This *Spirit* will cause you leave (with joy) *Benefices*, and *Bishopricks*, *Worlds* and *Lives* for his sake: the *Heights* and *Depths*, *Lengths* and *Breadths*, of whose Love you know doth infinitely passe your most knowing *Comprehensions* and *Imaginations*. There is but little of this *Spirit* extant, I feare will not be, untill we see *Christ Jesus* slaine in the slaughter of the *Witnesses*: Then *Joseph* will goe boldly unto *Pilate* for the slaughtered *bodie* of most precious *Saviour*: and *Nicodemus*, will goe by day, to buy and bestow his sweetest *spices*, on his infinitly *sweeter* Soules *beloved*. The full breathings of that heavenly *Spirit*, unfeinedly and heartily wisheth you,

Your most unworthy Countriman,

R. Williams.

FINIS.

The Principal

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